Yongming Yanshou's

Conception of Chan

in the Zongjing lu

a special transmission within the scriptures

ALBERT WELTER

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Foreword

The responses to the idea of a book on Yanshou have brought bemused reactions from some colleagues, such as "Didn't you already write a book on Yanshou?", in reference to my revised dissertation, *The Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds: A Study of Yung-ming Yen-shou and the "Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi"*. In fact, I was somewhat surprised by my own renewed interest in the study of Yanshou. After completing my dissertation, I felt I had had enough of Yanshou for a while, except as a potential complement to my ongoing interest in the development of Chan Buddhism in the Five Dynasties and early Song. Through this interest, I quite unexpectedly stumbled back on to the importance that Yanshou had in this development in ways that I felt had not been sufficiently explored.

The much-vaunted *Zongjing lu* remained a largely un-mined treasure, and the nature of its contents, particularly as they related to contemporary Chan developments at that time, had not been examined in a systematic manner free of biases imposed by Zen orthodoxy. I was particularly drawn to the Chan fragments contained in the *Zongjing lu*, which are among the earliest, and in some cases, our only sources of knowledge of early Chan. I was also intrigued by what Yanshou had to say regarding the concept of *zong*, a defining notion of Chan identity, as part of an on-going debate over the nature of Chan's past and the prospects for its future. In the process, it struck me that Yanshou's conception of Chan and Buddhism had a larger and more significant impact than has been acknowledged, and

I set out to formulate a model to acknowledge the place of a principled Buddhist practice in the Song intellectual milieu. As such, the studies that comprise this book are an initial foray into the reinsertion of Yanshou's brand of Buddhism into the dynamics of contemporary Chan and Song intellectual debate.

There are many people whose contributions, large and small, helped in the development of this work. Among the most significant, Ishii Shūdō's earlier work on Yanshou provided a great starting point for my investigations. His attention to Yanshou, as well as the scholarly work of his colleague Ikeda Rosan, is rare among Japanese scholars. Ishii's interest in Yanshou, like my own, was an initial catalyst in the unraveling of the dynamics of Song Chan, and the work completed by Ishii early in his career documenting the sources cited in the *Zongjing lu* served as inspiration for much of the analysis undertaken here. I especially benefitted from occasional participation over the years at Ishii's ongoing seminar on the *Zongjing lu* at Komazawa University, which promises to provide hitherto unparalleled access to its contents. As gargantuan as the *Zongjing lu* is, and given the pace with which such painstaking scholarship proceeds, it may require Ishii's rebirth in his present incarnation to reach completion. Jan Yün-hua first introduced me to Yanshou as a graduate student. Little did he (or I) know the ways in which this interest would abide and reach fruition. Koichi Shinohara fostered my interest through his supervision and kind attention. I was one of the few non-Asians to successfully navigate McMaster's Ph.D. programme in East Asian Buddhism in those days, and this was largely due to Koichi's unwavering support. The Religious Studies department went through significant upheaval at that time, when Koichi was also managing a transition from Sociologist of Religion with an interest in Chinese intellectual history to Buddhist Studies scholar. In particular, I am indebted to Koichi for his willingness to use personal and family connections to ease my life in Tokyo during those early years of my research, with the unintended but entirely pleasant consequence of having an abiding interest in modern Japan, in the novels of Natsume Sōseki, the films of Ozu and Kurosawa, Japanese *yakimono* (pottery), the taste of things like *udon*, *zaru-soba*, and *robata yaki*, and scores of other delights that have nothing to do with the study of Buddhism. I am particularly indebted to him for helping to secure connections with professors at Komazawa University. In addition to Ishii, Tanaka Ryōshō, through no apparent self-interest, fostered my dissertation work on Yanshou through weekly meetings to read passages from the *Wanshan tonggui ji* while Ishii was on study leave in Kyoto.

Needless to say, though the events and connections described above date from long ago, they continue to have an abiding influence over the trajectory of

my career. Suffice it to say, I would have been an entirely different scholar without them. More recently, I have enjoyed support from colleagues around the world, whose conviviality has been a constant source of inspiration. Their names are too numerous to mention here, but include Christoph Anderl, Ben Brose, Jinhua Chen, Shan Chun, Griff Foulk, Dan Getz, Steven Heine, Yi-hsun Huang, Miriam Levering, Hoyoung Lee, Reg Little, John McRae, Elizabeth Morrison, Charles Muller, Tord Olsson, Mario Poceski, James Robson, Morten Schlütter, Bob Sharf, Weirong Shen, Kirill Solonin, Buzzy Teiser, Christian Wittern, and Jiang Wu, many of whose comments contributed to the final outcome. I have also benefitted from conference presentations and invited lectures relating to the contents of this book, at venues such as the European Association of Chinese Studies, University of Bonn Sinologisches Seminar International Confucius Conference, American Academy of Religion, Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, University of Oslo conference on Early Chan Manuscripts among the Dunhuang Texts, International Association of Shin Buddhist Studies at Ryūkoku University, Fo Guang University, University of Konstanz, and the Korean Association of Wang Yangming Studies.

Finally, I must mention the fine professional editorial staff at Oxford University Press, led by Cynthia Reed and including the services of Charlotte Steinhardt and Jaimee Biggins. While errors that remain are mine alone, their painstaking attention to the detail of my work has avoided many poor phrasings, unnecessary duplications, etc., that crept into the manuscript. I am especially indebted to the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada, whose support made the research on which the current work is based possible.

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Introduction

Coming to Terms with Yongming Yanshou: The Significance of Yanshou and the Zongjing Lu *(Records of the Source-Mirror)*

Yongming Yanshou ranks among the great figures of the Chinese and East Asian Buddhist tradition.[1] While the number of studies on Yanshou steadily increases,[2] basic questions regarding his identity and the thrust of his thought remain. Owing to the broad scope of Yanshou's Buddhist influences and to the transformations occurring within Chinese culture and society during the late Tang through early Song dynasties, it is easy to speak not of one but of many Yanshous. In addition to Yanshou the Chan master, there is Yanshou the Pure Land patriarch, as well as legitimate discussion regarding Yanshou's *Lotus sūtra* devotionalism, his influence on Tiantai, his Huayan thought, his indebtedness to Weishi (Consciousness-Only) theory, and so on. Given Yanshou's pan-Buddhist influences, it is natural to regard him in terms of a multifaceted identity.

Regardless of the diversity that characterized Yanshou's thought, it would be mistaken to regard him as a dilettante, an ungrounded dabbler in the vagaries of Buddhist thought and practice. In spite of the breadth of Yanshou's Buddhist thought and practice, he remained grounded in a particular vision of a contested tradition known as Chan. Throughout his life, Yanshou identified himself as a Chan master (*chanshi* 禪師), and it was through this tradition that he understood Buddhism.[3] My quest here, in coming to terms with Yanshou, is not simply to understand Yanshou, but to try to understand Yanshou as he understood himself through the centralizing motif of Yanshou as Chan master. The key in this quest is not

to create an understanding of Yanshou as Chan master at odds with his mulit-faceted interests, but to come to terms with Yanshou as Chan master who embraced these interests, held them close to himself, and cherished them.

Inadvertently, this work questions much of what is commonly thought about Yanshou. Essentially, the question of who Yanshou was and what he stood for has been dominated by two trends. As early as the Song dynasty but some two hundred years after Yanshou's death, a consensus formed among Pure Land devotees that Yanshou was a model Pure Land practitioner. With this Pure Land halo intact, Yanshou's Chan pedigree became increasingly problematic. Eventually, this dilemma was resolved through the compromise notion that Yanshou essentially advocated the combined practice of Chan meditation and Pure Land cultivation. The problems associated with Yanshou's identity were compounded by the way he came to be regarded in modern Japanese Zen, dominated by Rinzai sectarian rhetoric that eschewed practice, ritual, and textual study. Yanshou's emphasis on these things rendered his brand of Zen foolhardy and anachronistic to the authors of this rhetoric.[4] Other traditions of East Asian "Zen" held to positions that not only validated Yanshou's Chan teachings but held them in great esteem as models of true practice, but these traditions did not receive much attention for a long time. This, happily, is no longer the case, and we are now beginning to appreciate Yanshou's contributions free of the Pure Land emphasis and Rinzai sectarian biases through which Yanshou has frequently been reduced.

To "come to terms" with Yanshou, I provide discussions on the following topics. Chapter 1 explores the hagiographical records of Yanshou's life, reflecting on these less for the information they provide about Yanshou than as indications of the aspirations and motives associated with the worlds the compilers lived in. I maintain that the contours of Yanshou's "life" are the products of these aspirations—whatever we know about Yanshou is predicated on the shape these contours provide. The way Yanshou's thought is interpreted, the thrust of his mission, if you will, has often been reduced to the contours that these hagiographical works provide. The first task of coming to terms with Yanshou, then, is to come to terms with how others have shaped our understanding of him. Rather than reduce Yanshou's emphasis on Buddhist practice to the aims of Pure Land cultivation, however conceived, I contend that Yanshou was essentially an advocate of bodhisattva practice and the multiplicity of cultivational aids that such practice entails.

Chapter 2 begins a series of chapters aiming to understand Yanshou's Chan teaching. Yanshou is often hailed as a representative of a style of Chan Buddhism known as "scholastic," or "words and letters" (*wenzi* 文字) Chan. Scholastic Chan is often treated pejoratively, contrasted negatively with an

antinomian Chan tradition that rhetorically renounces doctrinal teachings and institutional rituals. Rather than sanction rhetoric destructive of conventional ritual and practice, scholastic Chan conceived the Chan movement as both complementary to and fulfilling the goals of the larger Buddhist tradition. The *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's major work, is a testament to the solidarity between Chan and the larger, scholastic Buddhist tradition. Even this may be viewed as a distorting one from Yanshou's perspective. According to Yanshou, Chan and the Buddhist tradition are not distinct entities in need of harmonizing but two aspects of a single unity, complementing and fulfilling each other. The concept Yanshou relies on to provide this unity is *zong*, what I term the "deep structure" of Yanshou's concept of mind—understanding truth as implicit in the principle of universal mind. In this regard, Yanshou refers to mind in terms such as "the deep abode of myriad good deeds," "the profound source of all wisdom," "the precious ruler of all existence," and "the primordial ancestor of the multitude of spiritual beings."[5]

Chapter 3 places Yanshou's interpretation of Chan within the context of tenth-century China and the forces shaping Buddhism and Chan at the time. Modern Zen interpretation, until recently, assumed that Song sources regarding Tang Chan masters were reliable, and tended to reduce Yanshou's understanding of Chan to a nostalgic afterthought, anachronistic at best. Based on more recent work, including my own, it has become standard to regard the major sources for understanding Tang Chan in terms of their Song provenance. We now see that the Tang Chan revisionism promoted in Song sources was, in Yanshou's day, no more than a work in progress, and that Yanshou's view of Chan, rather than an anachronism, was a vital contribution in an important exchange of views over Chan's future direction. One of the noteworthy aspects of Yanshou's notion of Chan is the important role scriptures play for Chan masters, even Tang masters, who—other sources contend—placed little value in scripture study or recitation. In this regard, Yanshou forces us to reconsider long-held assumptions regarding the principles Tang Chan actually stood for, and in this sense, Yanshou provides valuable validation for much of the revisionism regarding Tang Chan that is taking place in current scholarship.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth look at the actual Chan sources and patriarchs that emerge from the *Zongjing lu*. While Yanshou's approach to Chan at a theoretical level is generally understood, little work has been done toward revealing how Yanshou incorporated the patriarchs of Chan factions and their writings into his over arching conception of Chan in the *Zongjing lu*. Indeed, the omission of Yanshou's contributions in this regard is a great oversight in contemporary Chan and Zen studies. Along with the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde*

Chuandeng lu, the *Zongjing lu* represents a major source for our understanding of emerging Chan movements in the Five Dynasties and early Song periods. While Yanshou was committed to a universalistic perspective on Chan that favored no single lineage, this does not mean that Chan lineage was not an important factor in his understanding of Chan. Chapter 4 provides a concrete look at the Chan sources Yanshou most prized, and the individual Chan factions he acknowledged. Because of Yanshou's contention that all Chan masters implicitly recognize the importance of scriptures for the study of Chan, his accounting of Chan factions is free of the factional tensions characteristic of other Chan sources. Included in the chapter is a comprehensive listing of Chan sources appearing in the *Zongjing lu*.

In chapter 5, I engage in an extensive analysis of fragments attributed to Chan masters in the *Zongjing lu*. Through comparisons with other, roughly contemporary sources that also recorded fragments of Chan masters' teachings, I am able to understand Yanshou's aims for Chan in contrast with other works. While my examination focuses on the Chan lineage fragments contained in fascicle 1, it also includes treatment of sources found in fascicles 97 and 98, two fascicles exclusively devoted to the teachings of Chan lineage masters. In order to present the findings of this investigation, I have arranged my results thematically, providing examples of each. The importance of the *Zongjing lu* is revealed in a number of ways: through the alternate fragments of Chan masters' teachings it contains (cases where the *Zongjing lu* fragments expose significant differences with other known sources); through the fragments contained in the *Zongjing lu* that are not found in other sources (cases where *Zongjing lu* fragments are our only source); and through its depiction of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 and the Hongzhou 洪州 faction, which tends to contrast rather sharply with conventional interpretation. In ways such as these, the *Zongjing lu* reveals itself as an important supplement to our knowledge regarding early Chan sources.

In chapter 6, I retreat from the minute analysis of the *Zongjing lu* as a source for our understanding of Chan to entertain bigger questions regarding Yanshou's impact on Song Buddhism and Song intellectual life. The impasse between scholars of Confucianism and Chinese Buddhism was fueled for decades by assumptions that the Tang represented a Buddhist "golden age" and the Song produced an intellectual milieu dominated by the orthodox Lixue 理學 (study of principle) school of Neo-Confucianism, with little room to maneuver in between. With the passing of this impasse, room has opened for broader, less predetermined analysis of intellectual trends in the Song. As part of this effort, in chapter 6 I reposition Yanshou, as an advocate of a Buddhist School of Principle, into the Song intellectual terrain, criticizing the way a Zhu

Xi–led Neo-Confucian orthodoxy has tainted our understanding of Chan and Buddhism during the Song period. My contention is two-fold. On the one hand, not all Buddhism in the Song period (and beyond) is reducible to Linji Chan, as Zhu Xi and orthodox Neo-Confucian rhetoric suggests. Yanshou, as an advocate of a "principled Buddhism," helped to stimulate thriving movements based on ritual and practice, including a revival of the Tiantai School. On the other hand, Lixue orthodoxy was hardly the dominant force in the Song, especially the Northern Song, that it would later turn out to be. Only a retrospective, and misleading, view of Neo-Confucianism dictated by Lixue orthodoxy assigns it a seminal role from the outset of the Song. This points to a need to reevaluate the role of Buddhism in the Song not predetermined by the positions of a retrospective Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. The insertion of a Buddhist School of Principle raises interesting questions, particularly as it relates to the broader context of literati culture and Confucian learning. If the "Buddhist" and "Confucian" literary worlds were not as uniform as previously supposed but incorporated shared principles and concepts that paralleled one another, Buddhist and Confucian literati, rather than occupying discrete intellectual territories, operated in a shared intellectual space with unique and distinguishing aspects.

As an application of this approach, I attempt to remap the intellectual terrain occupied by a wide variety of intellectuals in the early Song period, in an attempt to give greater recognition to the broad range of intellectual positions possible, beyond the rather static categories of "Confucian" and "Buddhist." To assist this, I borrow from the pioneering work of the Japanese scholar Araki Kengo 荒木見悟, especially his typology of Song and Ming intellectual life suggesting the instrumental role played by Buddhism, particularly the Linji Chan faction. Araki depicts the Song/Ming milieu in terms of three ideological types: the Neo-Confucian School of Principle 理學, headed by Zhu Xi 朱熹; the Neo-Confucian School of Mind 心學, headed by Wang Yangming 王陽明; and the Chan School of Mind 禪心宗, represented by the Linji faction 臨濟宗. The early Song intellectual milieu, suggests that represents of Buddhism other than Linji faction Chan need also be included. These Buddhists constitute a fourth group that I characterize as a Buddhist School of Principle. The insertion of this fourth group, I maintain, better reflects the Buddhist possibilities during the Song, highlighting the influence that Yongming Yanshou as a prime advocate of the Buddhist School of Principle, had in the Song intellectual terrain.

Chapter 7 contains an annotated translation of fascicle 1 of the *Zongjing lu*, which represents Yanshou's most important statement regarding the notion of *zong* as the implicit truth governing all of Buddhist teaching, including the

teachings of Chan patriarchs. This is its first translation into a Western language, and the first annotated translation into any language.

There are numerous Yanshous, as the many traditions that trace themselves through Yanshou attest. Having outlined what this book covers I take a few moments to talk of what it does not, in anticipation of the disappointment that some may feel in aspects of Yanshou's teaching that are either not addressed or given only passing comment.[6]

Some will be disappointed that the book does not entail greater discussion of Yanshou's predecessor and inspiration, Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841) and his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources]. This is, undeniably, a worthwhile topic that has thus for received insufficient attention. The *Zongjing lu* served as a channel through which the ideas and models of Zongmi's Chan Preface were widely disseminated to the Song world and beyond, and there is no doubt that the *Zongjing lu* conveyed to Song Chan the most fundamental elements of Zongmi's Chan Preface, often employing Zongmi's own words or a close paraphrase.[7] Yet, as indebted to Zongmi as Yanshou was, the discussion that follows reveals he is equally, if not more indebted to others, such as Huayan master Chengguan 澄觀. To isolate any one master (or text, or movement) as Yanshou's primary inspiration is simply a strategy that repeats the mistakes of the past. While I readily acknowledge Yanshou's debt to Zongmi in regard to certain key aspects of his Chan teaching, I also think it important to look at Yanshou's subscription to Zongmi's position as an adaptation and not simply an adoption. The circumstances for Buddhism had changed dramatically in the roughly century and a quarter since Zongmi, and this affected the way Yanshou incorporated Zongmi's views.

Some will wish that other aspects of Yanshou's teaching had received greater attention. Foremost among these is Yanshou's influence on the Tiantai tradition. Yanshou's approach in the *Zongjing lu* affected not only the course of the Chan tradition but also that of the Tiantai tradition, which was geographically, religiously, and intellectually situated in close proximity to Yanshou. Shortly after Yanshou's life, the Tiantai school underwent a revival that in part drew strength from the intellectual milieu created by Yanshou. Admittedly, this too is a topic in need of greater elucidation. Just as Yanshou's thought as a Buddhist shared a fundamental approach with some later Neo-Confucians, this shared world view also offered a bridge between disparate traditions in Chinese Buddhism, particularly Chan and Tiantai. This sense of a shared Buddhist world transcending factional divisions that Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* helped create is one of its lasting and most enduring legacies. I have not sought to address this theme more directly in the current work, but hope that others will take up

the topic and give it the justice it deserves. Likewise, I have foregone extensive discussion of ritual and practice in Yanshou's religious life and vision of Buddhism aside from the hagiographical images that it inspired. While the current work exposes Yanshou's more theoretical side, it notes frequently how, according to Yanshou, any theorizing needs to be firmly rooted in Buddhist practice and that to presume otherwise is to fall into an intellectual trap fuelled by one's own delusions.

What these observations reveal, above all, is that a multi-faceted Yanshou deserves multi-faceted treatments. What I have attempted in this book is a contribution to an ongoing discussion of Yanshou and his significance to the Chinese and East Asian Buddhist traditions. It is not the final word, and I hope it will spur others to look at Yanshou in new and different ways, as well as the traditions he inspired.

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I

Yongming Yanshou and the Complexities of Chan Identity

Western discourses on Chan/Zen rarely mention Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–976), and Yanshou is typically ignored, or at best, marginalized from the ranks of "true" Zen.[1] As our knowledge of Chan and Zen have moved beyond the parameters of modern Zen—largely Rinzai—orthodoxy, the time is ripe for a reassessment of Yanshou's image, particularly as it pertains to Chan. In the past, Yanshou's reputation as a scholastic and his renown for syncretism, whether between Chan and Pure Land or between Chan and doctrinal teaching, branded him in the eyes of many as unworthy of the title of a true Chan master. But as the discussion that follows indicates, this is an old problem for Yanshou. Already in the Song dynasty, Yanshou's image was pulled between opposing forces. On the one hand, there were those who insisted that Yanshou's reputation as a pious "maker of merit" did not fit the Chan mold. On the other hand, there were those who defended Yanshou's status as a Chan master, but in terms of an understanding of the meaning of Chan as a moral practice that stood in opposition to the antinomian rhetoric of the Chan mainstream. In either case, Yanshou's significance was acknowledged early on, but issues regarding who Yanshou was, the kind of Buddhism he advocated, whether he was a Chan master and, if so, of what kind, and what status he should occupy within the tradition remained.

In the history of Zen, Yanshou was for years dismissed as the harbinger of a period of decline, the architect of an impure Zen

that modern Zen purists relegated to decidedly inferior status. This was a judgment rooted in the ideology of modern Japanese, especially Rinzai, Zen. The "Zen" traditions of China, Korea, and Vietnam tended to look on Yanshou quite differently. Rather than being marginalized, Yanshou emerges in these traditions as a central figure through which indigenous Chan, Sŏn, and Thiền teachings and practices were validated. This favorable appraisal is predicated on traditions that either continued to value scholastic "Zen," however defined, or championed a "revised" image of Yanshou whose example was instrumental for those seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. With so many Yanshous on offer, how can one resolve the disparate images? Most important for this study is the question of Yanshou's relation to Chan. Should Yanshou be included as a Chan master? If so, what meaning does this designation carry with it?

The inclusion of Yanshou among the ranks of Chan masters, as I argue in this chapter, validates an expanded understanding of Chan and Zen, prominent in recent scholarship, that is more inclusive and not confined by the strictures of a particular ideology. In other words, an examination of Yanshou's Chan/Zen identity helps us to rethink notions of what Chan/Zen are, and to come to terms with the traditions that value Yanshou as a founding patriarch of the traditions they represent. If, indeed, Yanshou is the "typical" Chan master, rather than a marginalized figure as commonly (mis)represented in contemporary discourse until recently; if his teaching represents "true" Chan rather than some scholiast's aberration; in other words, if Chan syncretism rather than some hypothetical pure Chan represents "true" Chan, then Yanshou emerges as a central figure in the mainstream of the Chan tradition, and the so-called radical Chan/Zen is marginalized as the ill-conceived aberration. This sort of statement, of course, falsely presumes that a "true" Chan actually exists, when in fact we can only hypothesize a tradition with multiple identities in struggle with each other over doctrinal superiority, power, and authority. In this chapter, I consider the struggle to appropriate Yanshou as Chan master as indicative of contradictions and tensions that lie at the very heart of the Chan/Zen tradition.

I begin the discussion with descriptions of textual images of Yanshou, how these textual images compare with the style of Chan Yanshou promoted in his own writings, and how textual images of Yanshou evolved over time according to external forces that shaped them. I review the evolution of Yanshou's identity through three phases: as "promoter of blessings," as Chan master, and as Pure Land advocate. Finally, I propose another image of Yanshou, drawn from his own writings, as advocate of bodhisattva practice. The struggle to come to terms with Yanshou's identity is not restricted to the past. In a postscript to this chapter, I look at a recent attempt to appropriate Yanshou as an advocate of the Pure Land cause. Before beginning, I'll discuss the problems associated with

addressing Yanshou's identity. Much of this discussion entails a review of my previous work on the images of Yanshou contained in biographical (hagiographical) sources.[2]

The Problem of Yanshou's Identity, Past and Present

The Buddhist identity of Yongming Yanshou has long been problematic. Yanshou's devotion to Buddhism has never been questioned, nor his commitment to Buddhist teaching. Difficulties frequently have arisen, however, in trying to determine what type of Buddhist Yanshou was.

Questions concerning Yanshou's identity are rooted in the original records of Yanshou's life. They are reiterated in the centuries following his death, in the attempts to construct an image of Yanshou relevant to contemporary Buddhist practitioners. These questions continue down to the present day, where Yanshou is highly regarded in some Buddhist circles while virtually ignored or denigrated in others. Why has the image of Yanshou, a popular figure of immense importance in Chinese Buddhist history, continued to be so controversial? This study is an attempt to reflect on circumstances contributing to the problem that Yanshou's image represents in Buddhist circles.

Generally speaking, the difficulty in assigning identity to Yanshou is rooted in historical changes occurring within Chinese Buddhism. As a product of the revival and promotion of Buddhism in the quasi-independent principality of Wuyue 吳越 during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms 五代十國 period (907–979),[3] Yanshou sought to preserve the Buddhist legacy of the Tang dynasty as part of a concentrated effort by Wuyue rulers to foster Buddhism as an underpinning of the Wuyue state.[4] In this context, Yanshou sought to integrate the elements of past Buddhist teaching into a comprehensive system reflecting the challenges that Buddhism faced. In this sense, Yanshou was rooted in the traditions of Tang Buddhist scholasticism, but provided the framework and impetus from which Song and subsequent Buddhist developments grew. Thus, the root problem in determining Yanshou's identity is that he was in large part the product of the scholastic Buddhism of the Tang, albeit attempting to shape it in new ways, but his identity was determined by Buddhists in the Song who defined themselves according to new, largely unforeseen parameters. It is somewhat surprising, given the circumstances, that Yanshou continued to be honored as a central figure in a tradition that developed in ways unanticipated by Yanshou himself. It is not surprising, however, that Yanshou's image began to resemble less the man of history and more the figure of legend. It took a remarkably long time, one

might add, for the figure of legend to settle into an established form. The activity surrounding this legend-making process attests to the potency of Yanshou's image through the ages.

It is also hardly surprising to find Yanshou's image manipulated in this way. Figures throughout history, regardless of period or culture, inevitably acquire characteristics reflecting the time and place of the people who honor them. In this, Yanshou is no exception. As he became a leading figure within Song Buddhist circles, his image began to take on the shape of the communities that honored him. As these communities changed, so did the image of Yanshou they fostered. The fact that Yanshou's image was subjected to manipulation to the extent that it was is simply an indication that his importance could not be ignored. The recasting of his image is an indication both of Buddhist revitalization and the central role Yanshou occupies in it.

During the Song, three interpretations of Buddhism came to dominate: Chan 禪, Tiantai 天台, and Pure Land 淨土 (although the latter was formed largely through the efforts of Tiantai school activists, and did not form an independent group).[5] Yanshou was a figure closely connected to each of these groups. In Chan circles, Yanshou was cast as a paradigmatic Chan monk, composing enlightenment verses and giving enigmatic replies to questions from students. Among Pure Land practitioners, as interpreted through the writings of Tiantai monks promoting the Pure Land movement, Yanshou became the consummate advocate of Pure Land teaching and practice. And the Tiantai school itself, which experienced a revival during the Song, was also indebted to Yanshou's textual and exegetical style that valued highly the Lotus sūtra and other writings prized in the Tiantai school.[6] Throughout these developments, Yanshou's identity provoked considerable, sometimes heated debate. The content of these debates exposes two things about Yanshou's identity. In the first place, it shows that Yanshou did not easily fit the sectarian categories that came to dominate Buddhism in the Song. Second, the controversy over Yanshou's image in Song Buddhist circles suggests his overwhelming importance, mentioned above. However contentious Yanshou's identity became, he could not be ignored.

In reviewing the developments surrounding Yanshou's image, I show how Yanshou's identity was problematic within Buddhist circles, and how problems were resolved by manipulating his image to meet the needs of contemporary Buddhist groups. In addition, I suggest that the images of Yanshou arrived at were not always reflective of Yanshou's own practice and thought. In this regard, I am particularly interested in contrasting the images of Yanshou cast in biographical records against his own recorded teachings.

Yanshou as "Promoter of Blessings" (Xingfu 興福)

The earliest known biography of Yanshou was compiled by Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks), compiled in 988, roughly twelve years after Yanshou's passing.[7] In addition to being written in close proximity to Yanshou's own life, other factors attest to its reliability. Like Yanshou, Zanning hailed from the Wuyue region and initially achieved fame for his activities there. Like Yanshou, he was a product of the Wuyue Buddhist revival and had intimate knowledge of Yanshou and the circumstances and events of his life.[8]

In spite of compelling factors favoring the reliability of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* biography, like cultural and historical proximity, information contained here must be viewed critically in light of the conventions governing Chinese Buddhist biographies compiled in the *gaoseng zhuan* (biographies of eminent monks) format. One of the main sources used for constructing the biographies (really hagiographies) in the *gaoseng zhuan* collections were tomb-inscriptions (*taming* 塔銘), which were composed as a kind of eulogy memorializing the memory of deceased Buddhist masters.[9] Although the content of Yanshou's tomb-inscription is unknown, one can assume that it was a source for Zanning's biography of Yanshou in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, especially given that Zanning makes specific reference to its existence at the end of the biography.[10]

In addition to following general conventions governing Chinese biographies such as place of birth and family background, Yanshou's biography followed other conventions of Buddhist biographies relating to Yanshou's career as a Buddhist. These include the circumstances through which Yanshou became a monk, the Buddhist teachings and scriptures he was most devoted to, the masters who served as his teachers, the temples with which he was associated throughout his career, episodes in his life that reflect key aspects of his character, his major written works, and the account of his death. I have dealt with these details of Yanshou's life elsewhere.[11] Here I will focus on aspects relating to how individual compilers identified Yanshou (i.e., what affiliation or area of expertise they ascribed to him) and what images of Yanshou individual biographies projected.

Unlike future biographies of Yanshou that identified Yanshou in terms of his sectarian affiliation, Zanning identifies Yanshou as simply "Song dynasty [monk] Yanshou of Yongming Monastery in Qiantang."[12] Even this apparently innocent appellation, however, suggests that the circumstances of Yanshou's life had already begun to be extracted from their original context to serve the needs of the compilation in question and the circumstances under which it was

being written. Yanshou was not really a Song dynasty monk. He lived and died in an independent Wuyue kingdom, received the patronage of a series of monarchs provided by the Qian 錢 family, the ruling warlords (*jiedu shi* 節度使) of the region. There is no evidence that Yanshou had any interactions with the Song court. Wuyue was among the last of the autonomous kingdoms during the so-called Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period to be absorbed into the new Song hegemony in 978, two to three years after Yanshou's death. Zanning, on the other hand, served as Wuyue ambassador, personally accompanying Prince Zhongyi 忠懿 (Qian Chu 錢俶) to the Song court during the tense negotiations that officially relinquished control of the region. While Yanshou did not live to see these developments, they were an important factor in Zanning's career. Zanning subsequently became the highest ranked member of the Buddhist clergy at the Song court, and was personally acquainted with the Song emperor and leading members of the imperial bureaucracy.[13] Not only did it serve Zanning's interests in promoting Buddhism at the Song court to include Yanshou among the ranks of prominent Song Buddhists, it was also impossible to ignore the official beginning of the Song dynasty in the year 960, some eighteen years before Wuyue's capitulation. To suggest otherwise would be viewed as not only presumptuous but also offensive to the sensibilities of the new dynasty and its claims to legitimacy.

The power and prestige of Wuyue was considerable during Yanshou's lifetime. The capital city of Wuyue, Qiantang 錢唐, became a thriving commercial and cultural center at this time, the hub of an economic transformation that propelled the lower Yangtze valley area into the most dynamic region in China during the Song. Under the name Hangzhou 杭州, Qiantang was destined to become the capital of China during the Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1279), after the north was abandoned. As a center of Chinese culture, it exerted considerable influence over the entire East Asian region. Monasteries revived through Wuyue patronage on Mt. Tiantai, the principle sacred mountain of the region, and other Buddhist centers throughout Wuyue became leading institutions for the study of Buddhism during the Song.[14] Monks from Japan, like Eisai 栄西 (a.k.a. Yōsai) and Dōgen 道元, who studied at these monasteries became founders of the Japanese Zen movement. Even in Yanshou's day, the king of the major Korean kingdom of Koryo 高麗 (or Goryeo; Chin. Gaoli) sent a delegation of monks to study under Yanshou.[15] The fame of Buddhist institutions in Wuyue was widespread, both within China and outside its borders.[16] Appointed to head prestigious monasteries in Qiantang, Yanshou stood at the pinnacle of the Wuyue Buddhist establishment.

Zanning's identification of Yanshou was based on criteria specific to the *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 genre. *Gaoseng zhuan* works commemorated the contributions of

Buddhist monks in ten categories, on the basis of nonsectarian criteria. In the first of these works, the *Gaoseng zhuan* that was compiled around 520 by Huijiao 慧皎, these were: translators (*yijing* 譯經), exegetes (*yijie* 義解), miracle workers (*shenyi* 神異), meditation practitioners (*xichan* 習禪), elucidators of discipline (*minglu* 明律), self-immolators (*wangshen* 亡身), cantors (*songjing* 誦經), promoters of blessings (*xingfu* 興福), hymnodists (*jingshi* 經師), and sermonists (*changdao* 唱導).[17] The *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (compiled in 667 by Daoxuan 道宣) and *Song gaoseng zhuan* altered the order and names of the categories slightly, but retained the nonsectarian spirit of the genre.[18] Under these circumstances, Buddhist monks were not identified according to sectarian affiliation but categorized according to the area of expertise within Buddhism through which they achieved eminence. As such, a monk noted for his achievements as a *chan* 禪 (meditation) practitioner, for example, need not necessarily hold membership in a Chan school lineage. The categories themselves were free of sectarian bias.

As is generally the case with *Song gaoseng zhuan* biographies, the actual account of Yanshou's life is sparse. The strongest impression left by the account is of Yanshou's affinity for reciting the *Lotus sūtra* 法華經, intensive meditation practice, and performing meritorious deeds, anticipating, in broad outline, the three Buddhist movements that would dominate in the Song: Tiantai, Chan, and Pure Land. He was noted as a prolific writer.[19] He is distinguished by his austere and frugal lifestyle, sincerity and honesty of character, connections to the Qian family rulers of Wuyue, his Buddhist mentors, Cuiyan Lingcan 翠巖令參 and Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶, and the honors bestowed on him by the Korean (Koryo) king. Of the three ways to designate Yanshou's identity in terms of his primary affinities—with *Lotus sūtra* recitation, with meditation, and with the performance of meritorious deeds—Zanning chose "promoter of blessings" (*xingfu*) as most appropriate.

What evidence exists in Yanshou's own writings to support Zanning's designation? The best evidence is contained in Yanshou's work promoting the practice of myriad good deeds, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集 (Anthology on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds).[20] It is interesting to note that in Zanning's biography, this work is mentioned prior to Yanshou's other major work, the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-Mirror), a much larger work containing Yanshou's anthology of Chan sources. The order with which Zanning mentions them in his biography seems intentional. Tradition suggests that Yanshou compiled the *Zongjing lu* prior to the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, while living in relative obscurity, first as a student of Cuiyan at Longce 龍冊 Monastery (from 937), then as a student of Deshao on Mt. Tiantai (until 952), and finally as a teacher in his own right on Mt. Xuedou 雪竇 (a.k.a. Mt. Siming 四明) (952–60), where he is said to have attracted students in large numbers.

This implies that the *Zongjing lu* was completed during Yanshou's tenure on Mt. Xuedou, and his appointment as abbot of the newly rebuilt Lingyin Monastery 靈隱 in Qiantang by Prince Zhongyi in 960 was made, in part, as a recognition of Yanshou's achievement. The Lingyin Monastery is generally regarded as a Chan monastery, however defined. The following year, Yanshou was appointed as abbot of Yongming 永明 Monastery, and this affiliation would become a primary indicator of his identity. The Yongming Monastery was conceived as having a broader mission to promote Buddhism among lay patrons—the secular elite—in Wuyue. One can imagine the different congregations served at the two establishments. Lingyin Monastery, located at the outskirts of the city, was primarily an urban center for monastic training. Yongming Monastery, located in the city proper near the shores of the famed West Lake, focused on ministering to the needs of the Wuyue state and lay public. Following this line of speculation, the *Wanshan tonggui ji* was compiled by Yanshou during his tenure at Yongming Monastery, in response to the broader role Buddhism was conceived as playing in Wuyue.

On the basis of available evidence, there is no way to confirm or deny this speculation. What is undeniable is the endorsement the *Wanshan tonggui ji* provides for Zanning's characterization of Yanshou as a "promoter of blessings." In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, Yanshou promotes a broad range of Buddhist activities, free of sectarian concerns. The list of activities promoted includes the following:[21]

- Adorning, worshiping, and the adoration of Buddhas and bodhisattvas
- Preaching the dharma, promoting dharma assemblies (*fahui* 法會), and a whole range of activities in support of the dharma
- Reading, memorizing, and chanting sūtras, especially the *Lotus sūtra*
- Constructing and maintaining stūpas
- Supporting the precepts and practicing repentance, especially the Fahua (Lotus) Samādhi 法華三昧 repentance of the Tiantai school
- A wide range of standard Buddhist practices drawn from scriptural accounts, including the *parāmitas*, the eightfold path, and so on
- A wide range of meditation techniques, including breath control, *zuochan* 坐禪(seated meditation), *chanding* 禪定 (*samādhi*), contemplating images of the Buddha, techniques associated with Tiantai *zhiguan* 止觀 (cessation and contemplation) practice, and so on
- Invoking the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛) for rebirth in the Pure Land, usually in conjunction with stūpa worship, sūtra chanting, circumambulatory meditation practice, and contemplation
- Self-immolation, or surrendering one's body, or a portion thereof, as the supreme act of almsgiving

- Building and maintaining temples
- Public works projects, such as clearing and repairing roadways; building bridges and ferries; planting flowers and trees and constructing hills for parks; digging wells and latrines for public use; and providing clothing, medicine, and shelter for the less fortunate
- Altruistic activities inspired by Buddhist teaching: setting fish and birds free; refraining from activities like hunting or fishing; avoiding harm to sentient beings; freeing prisoners; releasing people facing the death penalty by purchasing their freedom; providing refuge to those escaping tax burdens or military conscription
- Abiding by Confucian inspired virtues, such as loyalty and filial piety, to aid and reform the kingdom and to order and protect the household

Zanning's characterization of Yanshou gives priority to the *Wanshan tonggui ji* as representative of Yanshou's identity as a Buddhist free of sectarian identity, as a "promoter of blessings," broadly conceived. This depiction later proved problematic in light of the strong sectarian character of Song Buddhism. To later members of the Chan community, Zanning's choice amounted to an unpardonable oversight. Contesting Zanning's depiction, Chan advocates rallied to rehabilitate Yanshou and claim priority for his identity as a Chan master.

Yanshou as Chan Master (*Chanshi*)

Less than twenty years after Zanning compiled Yanshou's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the Chan monk Daoyuan 道原 claimed Yanshou as a member of the Chan school. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, compiled in the fourth year of the *jingde* era (1004) and issued under imperial sanction in 1011, marks a major advance in official recognition of Chan lineages in China. Unlike the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was compiled on strict sectarian lines, to promote the independent identity of Chan lineages within Song Buddhism. The style and content of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* implicitly distinguished Chan from its scholastic forbears in several ways. It did not focus on abstract doctrine or textual exegesis but placed emphasis on the concrete experiences of Chan monks. As a result, Chan biography and hagiography, as a record of these experiences, took on enhanced meaning.[22] Dialogue and encounters between masters and disciples became a central feature of the biographies. Poetic utterances, enlightenment verses, and enigmatic remarks became the hallmark of Chan monks, who disdained logical analysis and wordy explanations as mistaking the true nature of words and the inherent limitations on their utility.

Chan lineage records also acknowledged kinship ties as a fundamental motif of Chinese culture and society, and a crucial marker of one's identity, even in fictive relations between Chan "fathers" and "sons." Leaving one's natural home to enter a Buddhist monastery had long been legally acknowledged in China as a kind of adoption, whereby the official registration of the person in question was transferred from his (or her, in the case of nuns) family roster and added to the roster of the monastery in question. In effect, one legally became a member of a new Buddhist "family." Chan took this process in new directions by making lineage the organizing framework of its membership.[23] Thus, not only were individual temples maintained through a succession of abbots heading hereditary or "succession" (*jiayi* 甲乙) monasteries, which, in effect, were the legal property of the clergy who resided there, but also Chan lineages were maintained through a succession of patriarchs independent of individual temple affiliation, forming a superstructure of elite masters recognized at a national level and organized along factional lines.[24] In this way, Chan came to represent a series of lineages, branches and subbranches, in affiliation with but not directly dependent on an existing temple-institution structure.

It is interesting to note how this new arrangement fits the circumstances of increasing government control over abbacy appointments. Although further investigation is required, temple lineage alone appears to have been inadequate for acknowledging monks of national prominence. Temples are by nature local, and generally have no influence beyond their particular region. Temple abbots would be similarly restricted. Publicly acknowledged lineages of elite Chan masters, on the other hand, provide national recognition beyond regional limitations.[25]

The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was not the first record to assert the universal history of Buddhism from a Chan perspective.[26] It was compiled to counter the claims of the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, a multilineal Chan transmission record compiled in 952.[27] Both works openly acknowledged each other's lineages. The issue was not legitimacy, as all lineages, even rival ones, were accorded recognition. The issue was which lineage claimed primacy in understanding Chan teaching.

Little is known of Daoyuan, compiler of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.[28] He also hailed from the Wuyue region and is presumed to have been, like Yanshou himself, a student of Deshao, indicating a strong likelihood of personal contact between them.[29] The compilation of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* is clouded by the role of Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020), a powerful Song official, in bringing the work to publication.[30] Yang Yi's preface indicates that Daoyuan's original text was reedited by leading scholar-officials at the Song court, under the direction of Yang Yi himself.[31] Lacking Daoyuan's original compilation, it is impossible to

tell what effect Yang Yi's editorial work had on the text's contents. We do know that Yang Yi was heavily influenced by Linji Chan masters and played an active role in promoting Linji Chan at the Song court. We also know that his conception of Chan as "a separate practice outside [Buddhist] teaching" (*jiaowai biexiu* 教外別修) was consistent with the emerging Song Chan self-definition as "a separate transmission outside [Buddhist] teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳), especially as conceived by members of the Linji 臨濟 lineage.[32] Daoyuan's own preface indicates that he conceived his work in different terms. His original title, *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Collection of the Common Practice of the Buddhas and Patriarchs), indicates commonality between the practice of the Buddhas and Chan patriarchs. Chan, in other words, was not conceived as unique or separate from Buddhist teaching and practice but as in fundamental accord with it. In other words, the question emerging from the two prefaces was not over the status of Chan as the preeminent teaching of Buddhism but over the kind of Chan promoted.

Yanshou was destined to become a controversial figure in this debate over the nature of Chan teaching. The questions regarding Yanshou's Buddhist identity in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* thus are twofold. In the first place, there is the question of Yanshou's status as a Chan master, which the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* claims unequivocally but others would later question. The second question concerns the true, or orthodox nature of Chan teaching, particularly given the rising influence of Chan factionalism. In the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, Yanshou's image is cast in typically Chan terms, befitting the emerging identity of Chan orthodoxy at the Song court. Yanshou is presented as a Chan master in the fashion that this text helped standardize. His experience as a Buddhist practitioner is punctuated by sudden insight accompanied by poetic reflection and by critical encounters with students through which the essence of his insight into the nature of Chan is made evident. As mentioned above, this description of Yanshou is highly consistent with the "classic" image of the Chan master promoted in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* biography acknowledges Yanshou as third patriarch in the Fayan 法眼 lineage, a faction that would later be designated as one of the "five houses" or "five clans" (*wujia* 五家) of medieval Chan. The title of the biography claims Yanshou as "the tenth generation heir of Chan master Xingsi 行思," a disciple of the famed sixth patriarch, Huineng 慧能, and "the dharma-heir of former National Preceptor [*guoshi* 國師] Deshao of Mt. Tiantai."[33] Earlier in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, Daoyuan claimed Deshao was the ninth-generation heir of Xingsi and dharma-heir of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958).[34] The titles themselves reveal the new way Yanshou was cast as a prominent member of a leading lineage in the Chan movement. In his own

writings, while Yanshou acknowledges Chan lineage as a mark of Buddhist identity, this is not the main thrust of his understanding of Chan, and he makes no mention of any Fayan factional identity. Nor is any special role assigned to Tiantai Deshao, the master from whom the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* suggests Yanshou received a special mind-to-mind transmission and on his association with whom Yanshou's identity as a Chan master rests. Yanshou's relation to Chan as commonly understood in terms of factional affiliation, his reluctance to accord factional identity more value, and his silence regarding his own alleged Fayan factional affiliation are concerns at the center of this book. I consider these in detail in the chapters that follow. At this juncture, it suffices to note the ironies surrounding Yanshou's Chan affiliation and the difficulty of fitting Yanshou into the role of Chan provocateur. The fact that the attempt was made speaks to both the power of the image of the "classic" Chan master affirmed in the Song and the power of Yanshou's own influence in Chan circles, which was too strong to be ignored.

Like the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* biography of Yanshou emphasizes his devout nature, frugal character, fondness for chanting the *Lotus sūtra*, and so on. These emphases point to areas of overlap in the depiction of Yanshou in the two sources, attributable to the familiarity both compilers had with Yanshou's life and their temporal proximity to the events in question. In spite of this commonality, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* was conceived for purposes different from those of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, and this changed the way Yanshou was identified. The overwhelming impression left by the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* biography is of Yanshou as a Chan master. This can be shown through the following examples. After taking up residence as a teacher at Mt. Xuedou, for example, Yanshou reportedly addressed his followers in typically Chan style:

> Here on Mt. Xuedou, where the water of a dashing waterfall plunges thousands of feet, even the tiniest chestnut has nowhere to rest. On the awesome crag ten-thousand feet high, there is no place for you to stand. I ask each and every one of you, where are you going?[35]

Later on, after Yanshou assumed the abbacy of Yongming Monastery, a monk reportedly asked him: "What is the subtle essence of your teaching here at Yongming Monastery?" Yanshou responded: "Put more incense on the burner." Following the exchange, Yanshou composed a poem:

> If you want to know the teaching at Yongming:
> In front of the gate there lies a lake;
> When the sun shines, bright light is reflected off it;
> When the wind blows, waves arise.[36]

As in examples like this, Yanshou's teaching bears the typical mark of an enigmatic Chan master who employs the unexpected and seemingly trite example or turn of phrase to reveal the profound nature of his understanding.

The problem with this characterization is that it bears no resemblance to the Chan teaching Yanshou displays in his writings. Some might argue that there is nothing odd in this discrepancy: a Chan master may act one way with students in the private setting of his monastery yet exhibit a more formal, learned demeanor in public presentation to the world at large. I doubt, however, that this is the case. It is much more likely that whoever the "private" Yanshou was, his persona was made to fit the growing demands of the heroic and charismatic figure of the Chan master. It is true, however, that Yanshou's persona is spared the iconoclastic antics typical of more radical masters, like shouting and beating.

Yanshou's compilations are known for the extensive use of materials drawn from classic Buddhist sources, but as a Chan master, it is odd that Yanshou makes such sparse mention of prominent Chan figures. In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, for example, Bodhidharma is not mentioned. Huineng is mentioned only once, as are Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海, and Layman Pang 龐居士. Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 is mentioned twice. There is no mention at all of Yanshou's supposed lineal forbears, Tiantai Deshao and Fayan Wenyi. Zongmi 宗密, on the other hand, is mentioned five times. To help put these figures in perspective, Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 is mentioned seven times. Yanshou's mention of Chan or other prominent Buddhist figures pales in comparison to his references to classic Buddhist scriptures: the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 is cited fifty-one times, and the *Fahua jing* 法華經 (*Lotus sūtra*) twenty-nine times. Chan figures and sources, as currently defined, are noticeable for their absence and seem to have exerted little influence on Yanshou.[37] One might expect the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's compilation of "Chan" sources, to reveal a different picture. Yet this is not the case. While Yanshou does refer to Chan lineage masters more frequently and more prominently in the *Zongjing lu*, their presence is still greatly overshadowed by Yanshou's reliance on traditional scriptural sources. For example, on the one hand, the *Huayan jing* and commentaries on it are cited over 360 times, the Lotus sūtra and commentaries on it are cited over 130 times, and the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* 涅槃經 and commentaries on it cited over 140 times. On the other hand, there are only seven references to the sixth patriarch, Huineng, seven references to Bodhidharma, and six references to Mazu 馬祖 and Huangbo 黄檗. In contrast, there are nine references to Zhuangzi 莊子.[38] To be fair, Chan *yulu* 語錄 texts, the major sources of the Chan school, were not yet published in Yanshou's day, and Chan lineage masters had not achieved the status and credibility they would later

enjoy.[39] Nevertheless, it is clear that Yanshou favored an understanding of Chan as part and parcel of the Buddhist scriptural and doctrinal tradition. In fact, the evidence suggests that Yanshou was highly critical of the style of Chan that many classic Chan figures are said to represent. (Again, this is an issue I take up in later chapters.)

In the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, Yanshou responds critically to those who base their understanding of Buddhism on common Chan sayings. For example, when a questioner cites a famous saying attributed to Huineng in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, "When things are not considered in terms of good and evil, one naturally gains entrance into the essence of the mind [*xinti* 心體],"[40] Yanshou chides the practitioner for his partial understanding of Buddhism and biased understanding of Chan.[41] In another instance, a questioner cites the Chan saying "Everything that comes into contact with one's eye is in the state of *bodhi*, whatever comes into contact with one's feet is the Way [*dao* 道]" as a basis for criticizing Yanshou's more formal and conventional approach to Buddhist practice.[42] Yanshou's response to exclusive reliance on such an approach to Chan is unequivocal: "You should not, because of some idiosyncratic interpretation of the void [*xu* 虛] obliterate virtue and destroy good deeds [only] to be haphazardly reborn in some evil transmigration, or deny existence and cling to emptiness [only] to become haplessly implicated in a net of evil."[43] The position of so-called Southern Chan, which came to represent an orthodox Chan position, held otherwise, as is well known. In the *Platform sūtra*, Huineng claims:

> Building temples, giving alms, and making offerings are merely the practice of seeking after blessings. One cannot make merit with blessings. Merit is in the Dharma-body, not in the field of blessings. . . . Merit is created from the mind; blessings and merit are different.[44]

Yanshou's aim in the *Zongjing lu* makes clear his belief in the authority of Buddhist scripture and the array of practices they sanction. In the preface to this work, Yanshou states explicitly his goal of establishing true, or correct, *zong* 正宗.[45] The term *zong* is problematic owing to its different meanings. It can refer to a doctrinal interpretation, particularly the underlying theme or essential doctrine of a text, or to a "school," which in Chinese Buddhism often refers to a tradition tracing its origin back to its founder.[46] In this case, Yanshou is clearly closer to the first meaning, suggesting a unified underlying theme or essential doctrine of Buddhist teaching as a whole, and clearly countering narrower interpretations favored by sectarian lineage. The means to accomplish this aim are also made clear: using the question-and-answer method to dispel doubts and citing writings that make true principle—the central, unifying

source (*zhengzong* 正宗) of Buddhist teaching—explicit. The suggestion that such a unifying doctrine underlies all Buddhist teaching is essentially antithetical to sectarian concerns.

According to Yanshou, the citation of authoritative scriptures, the teachings of the Buddhas and patriarchs, makes clear that the one, all-encompassing, universal mind (*yixin* 一心) is the *zong*, the central, unifying source of Buddhist teaching. The myriad dharmas of phenomenal existence (*wanfa* 萬法) are the mirror, or reflections (*jing* 鏡) of the mind.[47] Hence, the title of the work, *Zongjing lu*, refers to a record (*lu* 錄) of sources that reflect or mirror (*jing*) the essential, underlying doctrine of Buddhist teaching (*zong*).

While the aim of Yanshou's work is to provide comprehensive unity and harmony to Buddhist teaching, it is also important to read it as a reaction to divisive sectarian tendencies in Chinese Buddhism. This is where Yanshou's choice of the word *zong* for his title in the *Zongjing lu* is interesting, as *zong* in the sense of "ancestor" was also the leading conceptual motif for organizing the Chan school along factional lines in contemporary records like the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. In this sense, Yanshou's choice of the term *zong* for inclusion in the title of his work was not simply a bland assertion of the obvious but a polemical counter to sectarian developments as antithetical to true Buddhist aims.

Yanshou's conception of Chan is heavily indebted to Huayan 華嚴 teaching.[48] He speaks of Buddhist practice as being dependent on the natural interplay between *li* 理 and *shi* 事, noumena and phenomena. Enlightenment, the truth, and so on must be actualized and performed. Only Buddhist practice makes this possible. As a result, Yanshou is disdainful of claims to enlightenment based on the renunciation of Buddhist teaching and practice. The appropriate role of Chan is to foster the actualization process by encouraging Buddhist practices. The response by Yanshou to the following question illustrates this point.

> QUESTION . . . The still waters of meditation [*dingshui* 定水] would become pure if people would abruptly stop becoming entangled in vexing circumstances. Of what use are assorted good deeds? Dashing about to confront external [circumstances] and turning one's back on true cultivation only causes exhaustion and worry.
>
> ANSWER The tranquil manifestation of "no-mind" [*wuxin* 無心]—this is the criterion for realization. Solemn, adorning practices [*zhuangyan* 莊嚴] for the accumulation of blessings and virtues [*fude* 福德] are necessary on account of the nature of conditioned arising [*yuanqi* 緣起]. Equipped with both ["no-mind" and adorning practices] functioning as a pair, the

> essence of Buddhahood [*foti* 佛體] is complete. None of the scriptures of the greater vehicle fail to record this in detail.[49]

The biography of Yanshou in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and the approach to Buddhism in his writings created a major discrepancy between the image of Yanshou as Chan master and Yanshou's actual Chan teaching. Dealing with this discrepancy resulted in major rifts in the Chan community. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄, compiled shortly after *Jingde Chuandeng lu* in 1029, issued in 1036, responded by leaving Yanshou out of its roster of Chan masters. This is remarkable, given that the Fayan lineage is acknowledged—but without acknowledging Yanshou's association with it.[50] This elision called into question the identity of Yanshou as a Chan master by one who represented the interests of Chan lineages and who acknowledged the legitimacy of the Fayan faction. The *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* was compiled under the influence of Linji Chan at the Song court and is particularly noteworthy for documenting previously unpublished teachings of masters in the Linji lineage.[51] The teachings these Linji masters would eventually dominate Chan and continue to define notions of Chan down to the present day.

Others continued to champion the cause of Yanshou as Chan master. Yanshou is included as a master in the Fayan lineage by Qisong 契嵩, compiler of the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 in 1061.[52] A well-known proponent of Chan-Buddhist syncretism, Qisong had close affinities with Yanshou's interpretation of Chan. Another proponent of scholastic (*wenzi*) Chan, Huihong 慧洪, openly challenged those who questioned Yanshou's Chan identity by criticizing Zanning's classification of him as a "promoter of blessings."

> Zanning compiled the extensive *Song gaoseng zhuan*, utilizing ten categories for the purpose of classification. He placed "exegetes" at the top [of the list]. This is laughable. Moreover, he categorized Chan master Yantou Huo 嵓頭豁 as a "practitioner of asceticism," and Chan master Zhijue 智覺 [i.e., Yanshou] as a "promoter of blessings." The great master Yunmen 雲門 is chief among monks. He was a contemporary of these people, but astonishingly [Zanning] did not even mention him. Why is this?[53]

In addition, Huihong compiled a biography of Yanshou, recorded in both the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 and the *Lingyin sizhi* 靈隱寺誌.[54] This biography affirms Yanshou's Chan identity by asserting his association with the famous Chan temple the Lingyin Monastery 靈隱寺, where he briefly served as abbot. This was the culmination of the "Chan phase" of Yanshou's career. Subsequently, he was reassigned to the Yongming Monastery, where

according to speculation, he began to interpret Buddhism for a wider audience. Huihong's biography also features materials from the *Zongjing lu*, the work most closely associated with Yanshou's Chan teaching. Huihong's biography demonstrates Yanshou's conception of Chan as based on the essential harmony between Chan and scholastic Buddhist teaching. The style of the presentation substitutes the staid question-and-answer format typical of Chinese Buddhist scholastic discourse, taken from Yanshou's actual writings, for the emotionally charged exchanges attributed to Yanshou in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Such a development only serves to underscore the liberty that was exercised in developing the image of Yanshou in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

Yanshou as Pure Land Master

Huihong's biography apparently settled the issue of Yanshou's identity in favor of Yanshou as a Chan scholastic who integrated Chan with the larger tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. New developments associated with key events in Yanshou's life, however, made the issue of Yanshou's identity even more complicated. Less than forty years after Huihong published Yanshou's biography in the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* (1123), a new image of Yanshou as Pure Land practitioner was projected in the *Longshu jingtu wen* 龍舒淨土文 (1160). Over the next century, this new image of Yanshou became predominate in Chinese Buddhist circles. It persists as the dominate image of Yanshou down to the present day.

Two factors made Yanshou an attractive model for these new developments. Zanning had already indicated Yanshou's strong propensity for *Lotus sūtra* recitation and identified him as a "promoter of blessings." Even given Yanshou's strong Chan credentials, his style of Chan included performing myriad good deeds, activities he viewed as an inherent part of being Buddhist. Theory and practice fit together for Yanshou as two necessary parts of an integrated and harmonious approach to Buddhism. While meditation was an integral part of Yanshou's practice, and "Chan" was the moniker through which he touted his brand of Buddhism, there is no denying the broad array of practices—worship, recitation, invoking of Buddha names, mystical chants, adornments, and so on—that characterized Yanshou's approach.

The second, and more important factor that made Yanshou an attractive candidate as a model Pure Land practitioner was the emergence of the Pure Land movement in the Song. During the Southern Song (1127–1279), the Pure Land movement was formally recognized and organized by historians of the Tiantai school, with which the movement was closely associated. Biographies of Pure Land masters were compiled by Tiantai historians, and a lineage of

Pure Land patriarchs was established.[55] A significant portion of Yanshou's career was spent on Mt. Tiantai as a student under Tiantai Deshao, a monk who played a major role in the revival of Mt. Tiantai and of Buddhism generally in Wuyue. Yanshou's own writings were heavily influenced by the *Lotus sūtra* and Tiantai scholasticism.[56] As Tiantai historians began promoting the Pure Land, it is easy to see how Yanshou emerged as a prime candidate for inspiration.

The elevation of Yanshou to Pure Land status was prompted by new accounts of Yanshou's life. In this sense, the *Longshu jingtu wen* represents a major departure in how the story of Yanshou's life came to be regarded. It is the first source to document the new Pure Land tendencies that came to dominate the characterization of Yanshou's life. As a work designed to promote Pure Land doctrine and faith, the *Longshu jingtu wen* was critical of both Chan practitioners who promoted "Mind-Only" (*weixin* 惟心) Pure Land, and Pure Land practitioners who emphasized salvation in an afterlife to the neglect of performing meritorious works in the present world.[57] "Mind-Only" Pure Land followed the principles of the Weishi (Consciousness-Only 惟識) school of Buddhism, which posited that all of reality, including the notion of the Pure Land, is simply a product of one's own mind and therefore devoid of substantial reality. Pure Land practitioners who neglected meritorious deeds in the belief that salvation could be won by invocation alone ran the risk of running into moral jeopardy without a prescribed routine of activities to guide them.

Yanshou's biography in the *Longshu jingtu wen* appears in a fascicle entitled "Evidence of Miraculous Communications" (*Ganying shiji* 感應事跡),[58] implying divine communications beneficial for those seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. Two noteworthy aspects characterize the *Longshu jingtu wen* record of Yanshou; both involve events predicated on miraculous communication. The first is the assertion that Yanshou had a vision of Guanyin 觀音 at a crucial juncture in his career, shortly after leaving his official duties and becoming a monk. In the vision, Guanyin sprinkles Yanshou's mouth with "sweet dew" in what amounts to an anointment of Yanshou. As a result, Yanshou is said to have obtained the eloquence of Guanyin.

Guanyin, of course, is a major figure in the Pure Land cult, appearing prominently in the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*) and the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (*Sukhāvatāvyūha sūtra*).[59] In effect, Yanshou's vision connects his career to the divine assistance provided by the compassionate Guanyin. The act of divine assistance and compassionate intervention in an individual's life by a Amitābha Buddha or a bodhisattva figure such as Guanyin is a major premise of Pure Land thought. The *Wanshan tonggui ji* and the *Zongjing lu* are both mentioned in the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography, so that one of the functions of this episode is to provide an integrated sense of Yanshou that accounts for both his Chan

and Pure Land personas, albeit within a Tiantai/Pure Land framework. But even though an aspect of Yanshou as Chan practitioner is incorporated in the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography, the type of *chan* meditation Yanshou engages in here is Pure Land *chan*, the purpose of which is to produce miraculous visions, not the awakening experience common to works dedicated to Chan factional lineages. The effect of the episode is to claim Yanshou unequivocally as a model Buddhist for Pure Land practitioners.

The second noteworthy aspect of the *Longshu jingtu wen* biography is the evidence it provides for a cult associated with the worship of Yanshou's stûpa. The story related here is about a monk who daily worshiped the stûpa of Yanshou. When asked his reason for doing so, the monk replied that when he was consigned to the underworld in a previous life, he noticed the image of a monk in the corner of the palace of King Yama, the king of the underworld. He also observed King Yama himself come before the image and prostrate himself before it. His curiosity was aroused by this strange sequence of events: in the palace of the king of hell, a monk whom the king himself worshiped! The monk (in his previous incarnation as a denizen of hell) asked the caretaker of the palace about the identity of this monk that even King Yama worshiped. The caretaker informed him that this was none other than the Chan master Yanshou of Yongming Monastery. The caretaker also added that while normally people have to pass through the palace (to be judged) after they die, Yanshou was able to directly attain a most favorable rebirth in the Pure Land, without subjection to King Yama's judgment and wrath. The episode concludes with a statement to the effect that striving for the Pure Land is deemed valuable even in the underworld. In other words, salvation in the Pure Land remains possible for all, even those in the direst of circumstances. Yanshou is the emissary of this salvation.

This episode provides the rationale for Yanshou's high status among Pure Land aspirants. Because of his special affinity with the Pure Land, Yanshou became the object of a cult that worshiped his stûpa. In this capacity, Yanshou not only is honored as an object of admiration but also assumes the role of recipient of the supplications of others striving for rebirth in the Pure Land. The story demonstrates that Yanshou's value to the Buddhist community at some point began to transcend the events, real or imagined, associated with his life on earth. Yanshou came to be regarded as a sacred presence, with qualities normally associated with Buddhist deities who serve as intermediaries on behalf of the petitions of others to help them gain rebirth in the Pure Land.[60]

Later Pure Land–inspired biographies continued to develop the story of Yanshou's life in ways that reflected the aspirations of the Pure Land faithful. The *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, compiled in 1200 by Zongxiao 宗曉, included a

number of miraculous episodes, suggesting that Yanshou's entire career developed around incidents involving divine intervention.[61] The point of these stories is essentially the same as I have shown with the *Longshu jingtu wen*—to connect Yanshou's life with the miraculous intercession of Buddhist deities, to present Yanshou as a model for emulation to those seeking such salutary effects.

One episode from the *Lebang wenlei* is particularly illustrative of the way divine intercession is used to explain key points of transition in Yanshou's career, particularly for affirming Yanshou's reputation as a Pure Land devotee. According to the episode, while Yanshou was circumambulating an image of *Samantabhādra* (Puxian 普賢) during the night, a lotus flower that had been offered to the image suddenly appeared in Yanshou's hand. This prompted Yanshou to recall two vows he had made regarding the practice of Buddhism. The first was to recite the *Lotus sūtra* throughout his life. The second was to devote his life to saving sentient beings. The *Lebang wenlei* claims that Yanshou yearned to carry out these two vows but was inhibited from doing so because he also enjoyed the tranquility of meditation (*chan*). This resulted in uncertainty in Yanshou's practice, and he could not resolve which course to follow: the one suggested by the two vows, or that of devoting himself to *chan* meditation. The suggestion that such a tension was in need of resolution is the result of rising sectarian identities within Buddhism, particularly between Chan and Tiantai/Pure Land. In order to resolve this dilemma, Yanshou went to the meditation cloister of Zhiyi (*Zhizhe chanyuan* 智者禪院) and wrote out two divination lots: "practice *chanding* 禪定 (chan samādhi) exclusively" or "recite sūtras, perform myriad good deeds, and solemnly adorn the Pure Land." If one of these two options was to be followed, Yanshou determined, it would be drawn seven times in succession. According to the story, Yanshou prayed to the Buddhas and patriarchs for assistance and then drew the second lot the required seven times. This was interpreted as a clear indication of divine will: Yanshou's prayers had been answered and his dilemma resolved. Accordingly, Yanshou reportedly carried out the practices suggested by the second lot for the rest of his life. In the context of Chan and Pure Land sectarian dominance over Chinese Buddhism, this episode clarified Yanshou's allegiance in favor of Pure Land. The remaining episodes associated with Yanshou's life in the *Lebang wenlei* give a decidedly Pure Land interpretation to his career.

In the meantime, Chan biographies of Yanshou continued to appear, but these records, too, followed the new image of Yanshou that Pure Land devotees had established. The *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑, compiled in 1230 by Tanxiu 曇秀, acknowledged the new developments in Yanshou's life stemming from Pure Land sources.[62] Amid these changes, the *Rentian baojian* record reflects an attempt to reestablish Yanshou's Chan identity while conceding that divine

intervention played a major role in Yanshou's life. It attempted to portray Yanshou as harmonizer of disputes, a task that Yanshou is eminently qualified for, given the character of his own thought, but one that did little to restore his tarnished image as a Chan master. The *Rentian baojian* also recorded the miraculous story involving Samantabhādra referred to above. In the *Rentian baojian* version, we are simply told that as a result of the flower suddenly appearing in Yanshou's hand he decided to scatter flowers as an offering to Samantabhādra throughout his life, but avoids the decisive climax that affirmed Yanshou's Pure Land identity in the *Lebang wenlei* account. As a result, the *Rentian baojian* does little to redeem an image of Yanshou as Chan master in the classic style. In the end, the battle over Yanshou's Buddhist identity is decisively confirmed in favor of the Pure Land with the appearance of the *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 in 1237, and the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 in 1269.[63] In the former, Yanshou is designated a "Dharma Protector" (*hufa* 護法). His biography is presented in the most systematic and comprehensive manner to date, indicating that it is beginning to achieve a standard form. Any remaining proclivities marking Yanshou's Chan affiliation are successfully expunged from his image. Episodes are added to Yanshou's life on Mt. Xuedou, hitherto associated with the "Chan phase" of his career, presenting him as a Pure Land practitioner. In the *Fozu tongji*, Yanshou is designated a Pure Land patriarch, the crowning achievement in the transformation of his image by Pure Land devotees.

Many impulses contributed to Yanshou's elevation in Pure Land circles. Pure Land practices do play a role in Yanshou's own thought, as we have seen, but not to the degree suggested by Yanshou's Pure Land image makers. An examination of *Wanshan tonggui ji*, the text most often cited by Pure Land advocates as the source for Yanshou's Pure Land thought, clarifies the role that Pure Land plays. The role of Pure Land here is not as great as is usually suggested.[64]

This brings us to the question of what kind of *nianfo* (Buddha-invocation) practice Yanshou actually advocated.[65] Formal *nianfo* practice for Yanshou is based on the teaching of the fourfold samādhi in the Tiantai school.[66] This teaching makes provisions for the practice of *nianfo* either while sitting in meditation (*zuochan*) or while circumambulating the image of the Buddha. In addition, there is good indication that Yanshou intended *nianfo* recitation and contemplation to be used as an integral part of the Fahua (Lotus) Samādhi repentance ritual. In the text of the Fahua (Lotus) Samādhi repentance, cited by Yanshou, it is stated that there are two kinds of cultivation: "cultivation amid phenomena" (*shi*), which involves worshiping (*li*) and invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*) while circumambulating (*xingdao* 行道), and "cultivation amid noumena" (*li*), contemplation that recognizes the nonduality of mind and nature and shows that everything is an aspect of the mind.[67]

In the same manner that Tiantai teaching includes *nianfo* practice in its teaching of the fourfold samādhi as a practice harmonious with the aims of contemplation and meditation, Yanshou views *nianfo* practice as compatible with the aims of *chanding*. For Yanshou, the aims of *chanding* are understood in terms of Buddhist ideational theory, which claims that all realms of existence are creations of mind-only (*weixin*). *Nianfo* is analogous to what mind-only creates; the Pure Land of Mind-Only (*weixin jingtu* 惟心淨土) is the creation of the storehouse-consciousness. Thus, what is created through the cultivation of Pure Land practice is analogous to any existence that mind-only creates, including this world we inhabit.[68]

In this way, capitalizing on the creative capacity of the mind according to *weixin* theory, Yanshou is able to emphasize the positive function of the mind, which, of its own nature, is able to create provisional existence. Though provisional and ultimately unreal, a Pure Land thus created is of positive value in the quest for enlightenment. As a state of existence, it is neither more nor less real than the external condition of the physical world, which according to *weixin* theory is ultimately a reflection of the same creative processes of our mental capacities. As such, the mind can be utilized in a similar manner to further Buddhist aims. This is not to suggest, however, that the existence of the Pure Land be taken literally. Yanshou is quite explicit in stating that in reference to the fundamental absolute, one should never suggest that Buddhas and Buddha lands actually exist, much less talk about arriving there.[69] By the same token, Buddhist ideational theory would never suggest that the existence of the physical world be taken literally either. The Pure Land, as a provisional existence for the assistance of sentient beings in their quest for enlightenment, represents a skillful means. Understood in its broadest sense, the Pure Land may be seen as a function of *wanshan* 萬善 (good deeds) practice in the *Wanshan tonggui ji* as a whole.

Mind cultivation, or mediation practices (*chanding, zuochan, zhiguan, guanxin* 觀心, etc.), constitutes the cornerstone of traditional Buddhist practice.[70] Meditation practice, following a standard line of Mahayana Buddhist thought, aims at enlightenment in this life through the realization that all objects are only manifestations of mind. With this realization, the practitioner aims at curbing, or extinguishing, the mind's manifesting power, thus emptying it of mind-objects and nullifying the causes and conditions that life and death (i.e., samsāra) depend on. It is the cultivation of this realization that breeds enlightenment, wisdom, and eventually Buddhahood.

For Yanshou, the cultivation of *wanshan* operates within the same set of assumptions, but utilized in different, somewhat contrary ways. *Nianfo* practice represents a concrete expression of *wanshan* cultivation. Instead of

suppressing the manifesting power of the mind, the practitioner is encouraged to utilize it to create those causes and conditions that will result in favorable circumstances (i.e., the Pure Land or some other Buddha land) in his next incarnation. These circumstances are designed to assure one's salvation in the next life. The Pure Land, then, is none other than the favorable circumstances created by the manifesting power of one's own mind in this life.

By stressing the positive function of the Mind rather than curbing its manifesting power, Yanshou is able to supply a structure that supports the activity of the myriad good deeds and validates practice designed for attaining birth in the Pure Land. In doing so, he tends to regard existence in a positive and meaningful way despite its essentially provisional nature. The theoretical basis for the relationship between *chanding*, on the one hand, and *nianfo* and sūtra recitation, on the other, is described by Yanshou in various terms: the silence of meditation and the sound of recitation, tranquility (*jing* 靜) and motion (*dong* 動), silence and words.[71] The point here is again the same as for the relationship between *chanding* and *wanshan*. These do not represent duality; they are complementary aspects of the same reality. Conditioned activities in the realm of *shi* are complimentary and harmonious with the unconditioned realm of *li*. The sound of recitation and the silence of meditation, the activity of *wanshan* and the tranquility of *chanding*, when cultivated together with equal emphasis, reflect the harmony and equilibrium of these two realms.

In the final analysis, Yanshou conceived *nianfo* within the parameters of *wanshan*, and not the other way around. Nor did he conceive of *nianfo* in any way as the focal point of *wanshan*. As a result, it is inappropriate to isolate Yanshou's Pure Land practice, as has traditionally been done, as indicative of his Buddhist sectarian affiliation. This assumption stems from the Buddhism of a later age and is insupportable on the basis of Yanshou's own writings.

Yanshou as Advocate of Bodhisattva Practice

It is clear that a more accurate view of Yanshou is needed. This is evident, for example, from the way modern textbooks on Chinese Buddhism treat Yanshou.[72] Textbook accounts of Yanshou leave students with a number of erroneous impressions. In the first place, Yanshou is marginalized as a peripheral figure, even in cases that suggest his important contributions. Yanshou has received little attention in modern scholarship, in part because his contributions came during an "age of decline," on the assumption that the Tang dynasty represents the "golden age" of Buddhism in China and that subsequent periods represent a fall from this pinnacle.

Within the assumptions that cast him as a marginal figure, Yanshou is typically regarded in one of two ways. The first way regards Yanshou as a Chan syncretist, and in this capacity he is often cast as exemplifying the decline of Chan in China on the presumption of a "pure" and uncompromising form of Chan orthodoxy. Thankfully, the scholarly appreciation of Yanshou has moved beyond the strictures imposed by this orthodoxy, regardless of how persistent they may remain elsewhere. The other way Yanshou is frequently regarded is to highlight Chan and Pure Land practice as the specific focus of Yanshou's syncretism.[73] These images are deeply indebted to overly literal and uncompromising ways in which traditional Chan sources have been read. As reviewed above, the development of Yanshou's image in these sources is quite late, and bears little resemblance to the style of Buddhism projected through his own writings.

How should we regard Yanshou? The foregoing analysis suggests that the common ways of understanding Yanshou, whether as "promoter of blessings," as "Chan master," or as "Pure Land devotee," however justifiable, fail to capture the comprehensive vision of Buddhism that Yanshou promoted in his own writings. At the risk of further complicating an already complicated picture, I would like to suggest another image of Yanshou, drawn from his writings, one that does more justice to his comprehensive Buddhist vision—to reclaim Yanshou as an "advocate of bodhisattva practice." This appellation has the merit of presenting Yanshou as a devout, transsectarian Buddhist whose main interest was promoting Mahayana Buddhism, free of sectarian intent. It is not meant to deny the other images drawn of Yanshou but to suggest that the prevailing images are limited and do not do full justice to the comprehensive way Yanshou understood Buddhism. The image of Yanshou as "advocate of bodhisattva practice" has the advantage of overcoming these limitations while at the same time incorporating the prevailing views of Yanshou into a larger, more comprehensive framework.

The model of the bodhisattva suggests a Buddhist practitioner free of sectarian bias, one who fully understands scriptural and doctrinal teachings and applies this understanding in the actual circumstances provided through conventional Buddhist ritual practice. The impulse here is to encourage all to participate as their capacities allow rather than discouraging "lesser" activity as misguided on the presumption of superior insight. Evidence suggests that Yanshou intended his promotion of individual Buddhist practices to be understood in this way. For example, in the case of Yanshou's promotion of the Pure Land, he writes:

> When contemplation is shallow and the mind wanders, sense-objects overpowering and the force of habit oppressive, one needs to be reborn in the Pure Land. By relying on the excellent circumstances

> there, the power of endurance is easily attained, and one quickly practices the way of bodhisattvas.[74]

Elsewhere, as a warning to Chan practitioners who assume that insight alleviates the need for conventional Buddhist practice, Yanshou asserts:

> Myriad good deeds [*wanshan*] are the provisions with which bodhisattvas enter sainthood; the assorted practices are gradual steps with which Buddhas assist [people] on the way [to enlightenment]. If one has eyes but no feet, how can one reach the pure, refreshing pond [i.e., nirvāṇa] If one obtains the truth but forgets expedients, how can one soar to the spontaneous, free land? On account of this, skillful means and *prajñā*-wisdom always assist each other; true emptiness and wondrous existence always complement each other. In the *Lotus sūtra*, the three vehicles are joined and unified with the one vehicle, just as the myriad good deeds all propel one toward enlightenment.[75]

In support of this view, I would like to draw attention to a lesser known work by Yanshou, "On the Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts" (*Shou pusa jiefa* 受菩薩戒法). The text itself is no longer extant; only the preface remains (*Shou pusa jiefa bingxu* 受菩薩戒法并序).[76] The compilation of the original text appears to have been based on the *Brahmajāla sūtra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經), an influential work concerning the Bodhisattva precepts.[77] The preface is divided into nine sections, an introduction and eight brief questions followed by responses varying in length. The style of the preface is reminiscent of that used by Yanshou in his other major works: an introductory section setting forth the main principles, followed by question-and-answer sections in which doubts are resolved with responses based in scriptural sources. One of the functions of this method is to illustrate the authoritative nature of Buddhist scripture as the record of the teachings of the Buddhas and learned Buddhist sages.

The preface suggests that "bodhisattva practice" was a centralizing motif in Yanshou's thought. We know that administering the Bodhisattva precepts was a major activity for Yanshou. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* noted how Yanshou regularly administered the Bodhisattva precepts to the Buddhist faithful, specifically administering the precepts to over ten thousand people on Mt. Tiantai in the seventh year of the *kaibao* 開寶 era (974).[78]

The introduction to the preface begins:

> The various bodhisattva precepts establish stages [of progress] for the thousand sages, produce the foundation for the myriad good deeds [*wanshan*], open the gateway to nirvāṇa[79] and set [practitioners] on the

> path to bodhi. The *Brahmajāla sūtra* says: "When sentient beings are inducted into the Buddhist [i.e., bodhisattva] precepts, they enter the ranks of the Buddhas."[80]
>
> [The *sūtra*] wants us to understand that the Buddhist precepts are none other than the mind of sentient beings; there is no Buddhist teaching separate from them. Because they awaken one's mind, they are called the "Buddha." Because they make it possible to follow and support [Buddhism], they are known as the "Dharma." Because they make the mind inherently harmonious [toward others] and nondivisive, they are known as the "Sangha." Because of the mind's inherent perfection and purity, they are known as the "precepts." Because they [foster] tranquility and wisdom, they are known as "*prajñā*." Because they make the mind fundamentally quiet and tranquil, they are known as "nirvāṇa." The bodhisattva precepts are the supreme vehicle of the Tathāgata, and the reason why the patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the West.[81]

This makes clear the priority of bodhisattva precept practice for Yanshou. The bodhisattva precepts are the basis for sagely practice and the foundation for the myriad good deeds, setting practitioners on the path toward enlightenment. In this capacity, the bodhisattva precepts function as the framework according to which Yanshou was traditionally regarded as a "promoter of blessings," as they "produce the foundation for the myriad good deeds."

In addition, the emphasis on understanding the precepts as "the mind of sentient beings" suggests they serve as Yanshou's framework for understanding Chan. The precepts are responsible for awakening one's mind (Buddha), making it possible to follow Buddhist teaching (Dharma), and making the mind harmonious and nondivisive (Sangha). In like fashion, the precepts are linked to moral cultivation via precept observance, *prajñā*-wisdom, and nirvāṇa. They are "the supreme vehicle of the Tathāgata," suggesting a link to Buddhist doctrine as revealed in the sūtra-teachings of the Buddha, and "the reason why Bodhidharma came from the West," suggesting a linkage to the Chan lineage. This parallel treatment of the Buddha and Bodhidharma affirms Yanshou's interpretation of Chan as viewed in the *Zongjing lu*, to the effect that Chan patriarchs revealed the principles of Chan (*chanli* 禪理), transmitting the true, underlying doctrine of Buddhism (*zhengzong*) tacitly to one another in secret, while Buddhas made explicit doctrinal teachings (*jiaomen* 教門), establishing the main points through written texts. A similar parallel is struck elsewhere in Yanshou's preface, again in connection with the *Brahmajāla sūtra*.

> According to the *Brahmajāla sūtra*: "Anything possessing mind has no choice but to uphold the Buddhist precepts."[82] Of those born in human form, who does not have mind? When common people attain Buddhahood they always manifest it from the mind. As a result, Śākyamuni appeared in the world to open the minds of sentient beings to the knowledge and insight of a Buddha. Bodhidharma came from the West, pointed directly to the human mind, to see one's nature and become a Buddha. On account of this, a patriarch said: "Mind is Buddha; Buddha is mind. There is no mind apart from Buddha; there is no Buddha apart from mind."[83] As a result, all physical and mental forms, whether they pertain to the emotions or to the mind, are without exception included in the Bodhisattva precepts [literally, "Buddha-nature precepts" *foxing jie* 佛性戒].[84] The mind of sentient beings and the mind of Buddha-nature [i.e., the bodhisattva] are both inherent in the Buddha-mind precepts [*foxin jie* 佛心戒]. How different the bodhisattva precepts, which cherish saving others, are from the rules of the lesser vehicle, which bind one to external circumstances! As a result of this [difference], bodhisattvas provide numerous blessings [for others].[85]

The content of these passages indicate how the bodhisattva precepts function as a framework for incorporating Chan with the promotion of blessings stemming from the practice of myriad good deeds. Can the image of Yanshou as promoter of bodhisattva practices also be made to incorporate his image as a Pure Land practitioner? This is a topic raised in the last question-and-answer section of the preface.[86]

The thrust of Yanshou's message in this section is that the practice of *nianfo* is efficacious for attaining rebirth in the Pure Land, but exclusive reliance on this practice alone is not advisable. Transferring merit gained from invoking the Buddha enables one to be reborn in the Pure Land, but only at the lowest ranks.[87] Only after twelve kalpas will such practitioners begin to develop awareness; even then they will not have developed sufficiently to actually meet the Buddha (a precondition according to Pure Land teachings for attaining enlightenment oneself). In other words, rebirth in the Pure Land, according to Yanshou, does not preclude the necessity of progressing through the ascending stages of Buddhist teaching and practice. Gradually, practitioners advance through lesser vehicle teachings and practices. Those who are inducted into the Bodhisattva precepts have distinct advantages over practitioners who are not. Having conceived of supreme enlightenment as defined by the teachings of the greater vehicle, they follow a set of practices and regulations designed to foster

their progress while curbing the effects of evil karma. In short, the practice of invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*), like confession of sins (*chanhui* 懺悔) and assisting living beings (*zhusheng* 助生), functions as an aid to help one avoid violating the precepts. The point is that the Bodhisattva precepts are cast by Yanshou as the central program of Buddhist practice; invoking the Buddha, confessing sins, and assisting living beings function as auxiliary practices augmenting the Bodhisattva precepts. Rebirth in the upper ranks of the Pure Land, moreover, can only be achieved through following the Bodhisattva precepts and practicing myriad good deeds, including *chanding*. The implication of this section and the preface as a whole is that while great variety exists among sentient beings's ability to understand and advance on the path to enlightenment, and while Buddhist teaching employs a multitude of opportunities for advancement in accordance with the notion of expediencies, the Bodhisattva precepts function as the centralizing framework through which various Buddhist practices derive their meaning and purpose.

Concluding Remarks

Returning to questions asked at the outset of this inquiry—Is Yanshou a Chan/Zen master? If so, what kind of Chan/Zen master is he?—I offer the following reflections. The attempt to define Chan/Zen identity within sectarian parameters is always rooted in claims to orthodoxy. The exclusion of Yanshou from the Chan and Zen ranks is predicated on the rhetorical claims of Linji and Rinzai orthodoxy as "a special transmission outside the teaching." Yet this claim, as we have seen, need not be as exclusive as it is often interpreted as being. Another, lesser known interpretation of this phrase is to couple the secret, esoteric transmission allegedly stemming from Śākyamuni's initiation of the Chan patriarchy with his public, exoteric preaching, documented through the canon of Buddhist scriptures. Iconographically, this is represented in the Buddhist triad of Śākyamuni flanked by Mahākāśyapa, the successor to the Chan patriarchy, on one side and Ânanda, the deliverer of the Buddha's oral teachings, on the other. This is not an image normally seen in Japan but is found in other parts of East Asia. If Chan exclusivity is a function of Linji and Rinzai faction rhetoric with limited applicability "on the ground," that is, in the everyday reality of Chan, Sŏn, and Zen practice, how should Chan, Sŏn, and Zen be understood? The marriage of Chan factionalism, exhibited through lineage construction, and Mahayana orthodoxy, represented through the array of conventional Buddhist practices, was a nuptial Yanshou presided over. Whenever a divorce occurred, Yanshou's reputation either suffered or had to be altered to meet the

new criteria. The legacy of Yanshou's identity as Chan master and a practicing Mahayanist is caught between these polarities.

Postscript: Revisioning Yanshou as a Pure Land Master, Past and Present

A new reassessment of Yanshou as a Pure Land master appeared recently, some time after I had completed the draft of this chapter. The work in question, An-yi Pan's *Painting Faith: Li Gonglin and Northern Song Buddhist Culture*, charges that I, in my previous work, have misrepresented Yanshou so as to call into question Yanshou's Pure Land affiliation.[88] "Recent scholarship in the West," Pan contends, "has overfocused on the Amitābha cult—a misguided view that has led to a revisionist tendency to redefine Chinese Pure Land history."[89] Pan has made a serious attempt to clarify the historical record regarding Yanshou's Pure Land affiliation, one that is worthy of comment and review. I begin with a review of Pan's argument.

As the title of Pan's work suggests, his main concern is not Yongming Yanshou but the Northern Song literatus and painter Li Gonglin 李公麟. One of Pan's aims is to situate Li Gonglin's famous painting the *White Lotus Society Picture* in a Pure Land context. Since the subject matter of the *White Lotus Society Picture* is based on the *Avatāmsaka sūtra* and one of the (three) main images is Mañjuśrī, rather than Amitābha, traditional interpretation has regarded the painting in terms of Huayan rather than Pure Land soteriology.[90] Pan argues that a later, narrow understanding of Pure Land solely in terms of Amitābha worship aiming at rebirth in Sukhavāti has obscured the bodhisattva Pure Land practice that permeated Pure Land thought in the Northern Song Buddhist culture. The question for Pan is "not whether Li Gonglin's *White Lotus Society Picture* is a Pure Land painting, but what kind of Pure Land ideology it represents."[91] Pan is fond of the concepts "bodhisattva Pure Land cultivation" and "bodhisattva Pure Land teaching," which he openly attributes to Yanshou. Pan claims that

> Yongming Yanshou's impact on Song Tiantai Pure Land was far-reaching. He synthesized pre-Song Pure Land ideology and combined it with the One Vehicle nonhindrance teaching to defend the validity of myriad Bodhisattva practices. Most importantly, he advocated "Sudden Enlightenment followed by Gradual Cultivation" as part of bodhisattva Pure Land teaching.[92]

I concede that Pan has a point: scholars in the past, like myself, were unwittingly dependent on sectarian-based Japanese Buddhist interpretive categories,

and these led to an overly narrow understanding of Pure Land Buddhism in China.[93] Pan's work is successful in pointing out the need to understand with greater clarity the role of Pure Land thought in Chinese Buddhism. Yet I have serious reservations regarding Pan's assumption that Yanshou was, in essence, a Pure Land master, or advocated Pure Land practice as the central theme of his Buddhist practice. The most obvious question to ask here (but not considered by Pan) is how did Yanshou identify himself in his writings? Throughout his works, even in the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, which Pan and others insist is a Pure Land work, Yanshou identifies himself as a "Chan master" (*chanshi*). Nowhere does he identify with a Pure Land, or any other, affiliation.

On the whole, I stand by the assessment of Yanshou in my previous work and the interpretation proffered above: Yanshou considered himself a Chan master, but one who understood Chan in terms of a commitment to bodhisattva practice. Yanshou did indeed advocate Pure Land cultivation as part of bodhisattva practice, but it would be misleading, as Pan does, to put it the other way around, as advocating bodhisattva practice as part of Pure Land cultivation, or to conflate the two as the same.[94] To do so reduces bodhisattva practice to Pure Land cultivation, an interpretation that may have its merits in the eyes of later practitioners, but one Yanshou is not party to. Yanshou understood the cultivation of myriad good *(wanshan)* not in terms of Pure Land cultivation, as Pan suggests, but in terms of bodhisattva practice, as Yanshou himself states. Pan calls for a strictly Pure Land understanding for the term *wanshan* and gives convincing evidence for his assertion.[95] Yet a search of the term *wanshan* on CBETA reveals that it is used in a wide variety of contexts, many with no apparent bearing to the Pure Land.[96] Unless one conflates the entire Mahayana tradition of bodhisattva cultivation into an homage to Pure Land cultivation, a tendency seen in later Chinese Buddhism that Pan seems to concur with, there seems little reason to read *wanshan* in this restricted way. Moreover, Feixi 飛錫, the Tang dynasty Pure Land monk whom Pan says provided the model and terminology for Yanshou's *Wanshan tonggui ji*, is cited only once in that text—in *juan* 1, where Pure Land is discussed.[97] He is also included, in passing, in the *Zongjing lu*, but here he is mentioned among representatives of Chan factions, though no factional attribution is provided.[98] It is clear that Yanshou's frame of reference was Chan (as defined by him), not Pure Land, and that this extended even to the likes of Feixi. Feixi is thus a slender thread to pin one's interpretations on.

It is much more likely, as I asserted in my earlier work, that Yanshou was indebted to Zhiyi's formulation *wanshan tonggui* in his commentary *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 (The Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra) for his understanding of *wanshan*, and the link here suggests a connection to the teaching of

the *Lotus sūtra*.[99] For Yanshou and Zhiyi, the term *tonggui* does not indicate a return to the Pure Land, as Pan suggests, but that the myriad good deeds all propel one toward *bodhi*, or enlightenment.[100] Yanshou's comments in his "Preface to On the Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts," considered above, indicate that practices aiming at rebirth in the Pure Land were included but did not figure highly in the regimen of bodhisattva practices he advocated. Given the prominence with which Zhiyi, the *Lotus sūtra*, and Tiantai teaching appear throughout Yanshou's works, particularly the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, it seems much more likely that these were Yanshou's major frames of reference.

Typical of the low regard Yanshou accorded Pure Land practice is Yanshou's response to a question in the *Zongjing lu*.[101]

> QUESTION As your previous analysis of principle [*li*] and phenomenan [*shi*] makes clear, there is no mind external to the Buddha and there is no Buddha external to the mind. Why, then, is the method of *nianfo* included among the teachings?
>
> ANSWER It is only for those who lack faith that their own mind is the Buddha [*zixin shi fo* 自心是佛] and turn outward to rush around and seek [the Buddha]. For those with mediocre or inferior abilities, we provisionally make them contemplate the Buddha's physical body to anchor wayward thoughts, using what is external to reveal what is internal. By and by, they awaken to their own minds. For those of superior ability, we make them contemplate the true from of the [Buddha's] body. Contemplating the Buddha is thus like this. As it says in the *Fozang jing* 佛臧經 [Buddha Storehouse Scripture]:[102] "To see the true form of the various dharmas is called seeing the Buddha."

Yanshou himself makes clear the status of *nianfo* techniques in his teaching. They have a place, but it is a decidedly inferior one, however useful and necessary they may be. These are not the words of an advocate of bodhisattva Pure Land cultivation as the primary practice. These are the word of an advocate of bodhisattva Chan (or Chan bodhisattva) cultivation as the primary practice, with *nianfo* as a decidedly lesser form of subsidiary practice.[103]

Following a traditional trajectory, Pan places Yanshou in a line of Pure Land masters that includes the likes of Tanluan 曇鸞, Daochuo 道綽, Shandao 善導, Cimin Huiri 慈愍慧日, and Feixi 飛錫. In fact, Yanshou would be better paired with masters, like Zhiyi, who acknowledged a role for Pure Land cultivation but were essentially devoted to traditional meditation practices (*chanding*) and the performance of a vast array of myriad good deeds (*wanshan*). Does this suggest that Zhiyi is essentially a Pure Land master, that he advocated his other practices and techniques as part of his bodhisattva Pure Land cultivation?

While later Pure Land advocates may make such an assertion, it is clearly far from Zhiyi's own intentions.

Yanshou advocated Pure Land cultivation, as he did numerous other bodhisattva practices. My discussion above on Yanshou's "Preface to On the Induction into the Bodhisattva Precepts" (*Shou pusa jiefa bingxu*) indicates how Yanshou did not give priority to Pure Land cultivation among the various bodhisattva practices, as those who want to view Yanshou essentially as a Pure Land master would suggest. In truth, Yanshou advocated a wide variety of practices, any of which might be selected, ad hoc, as representing Yanshou's "real" Buddhist practice. Had the Chinese Buddhist tradition in the Song taken a different direction than it did, it is easy to imagine how Yanshou could have been called on to validate any number of developments. What determined Yanshou's identification with the Pure Land was not so much what he wrote himself as the way later Chinese Buddhists wanted to view him. The biographical/hagiographical record of Yanshou is key to understanding this, yet again, this is something Pan fails to consider. The devotional streak in Yanshou's Buddhist practice is noted early on, in the biographies compiled by his near contemporaries, Zanning in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* and Daoyuan in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, which note his fondness for reciting the *Lotus sūtra*, performance of repentance rituals, administration of the bodhisattva precepts, and so on. With the appearance of the *Longshu jingtu wen* and *Lebang wenlei*, works decidedly advocating Pure Land ideology, Yanshou's identification with the Pure Land is ascertained and his devotional tendencies, part and parcel of bodhisattva practice, are interpreted exclusively according to Pure Land criteria.[104]

A key to understanding this transformation of Yanshou from Chan to Pure Land master lies perhaps in Northern Song literati figures like Yang Jie 楊傑, who was a colleague of Li Gonglin and also played a major role in the revival of interest in Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*. Yang Jie was a major figure on the Buddhist scene who had a special interest in fostering both invocation and visualization *nianfo*.[105] According to the *Lebang wenlei*, Yang Jie carried an image of Amitābha with him at all times, even when traveling.[106] According to Pan, *nianfo* was Yang Jie's primary practice, and the six *pāramitās* and other practices characteristic of bodhisattva cultivation were auxiliary practices, and practicing in this manner was supposed to enable one to achieve the highest grade of the highest level of rebirth in the Pure Land.[107] The opposite is clearly the case for Yanshou, who regarded Pure Land cultivation as an auxiliary practice, and a decidedly lesser one at that, to assist one in performing the bodhisattva precepts. As mentioned previously, the practice of invoking the Buddha (*nianfo*), like confession of sins (*chanhui*) and assisting living beings (*zhusheng*), functioned as an aid to help one from violating the precepts. Yet it is clear that Yang Jie saw *nianfo* as

the primary practice and was inclined to read Yanshou's intentions along the same line. In Yang Jie's preface to the reissue of the *Zongjing lu* in 1091, he claims: "If people regard the Buddha as a mirror (i.e., take the Buddha as their model), they will know the moral precepts, meditation, and wisdom are the source [*zong*] of all goodness [*shan*]. . . . All goodness, regardless of the type, is generated by faith [*xin* 信]."[108] For Yang Jie, bodhisattva cultivation—the precepts, meditation, and wisdom—are the source of goodness, and goodness is generated by faith. This suggests a reinterpretation of Yanshou's treatise to accord with Yang Jie's priorities.

As a result, the revisionist view of Yanshou was the creation of Song Buddhist culture, which recast the bodhisattva path of cultivation in terms of a Pure Land agenda. This Pure Land agenda was not new. Previously it had been subordinated to the bodhisattva path of cultivation. In the new configuration, the priorities were reversed and the bodhisattva path was subordinated as an aspect of the cultivation of the Pure Land. Yanshou's image and writings were enlisted in the service of this cause. Later Buddhists came to read Yanshou with this new Pure Land–focused agenda in mind, and found in Yanshou's writings the evidence they needed to support their new beliefs.

2

Revealing the Implicit Truth

Yongming Yanshou's Notion of Zong *in the* Zongjing Lu

Yanshou is a major representative of a style of Chan Buddhism that became known as "scholastic," or "words and letters" (*wenzi*) Chan. In contrast to the antinomian rhetoric denouncing doctrinal teaching and institutional ritual as misguided effort and a sign of an unenlightened mind, scholastic Chan conceived the greater Chan movement as both complementary to and fulfilling the goals of aBuddhist tradition predicated on doctrinal teaching and institutional ritual. To borrow a common formulation, rather than Chan as "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*), scholastic Chan emphasized "harmony between Chan and the teachings" (*jiaochan yizhi* 教禪一致). The *Zongjing lu* is predicated on revealing an implicit harmony between Chan and the Buddhist tradition. But even this statement, taken from Yanshou's perspective on Chan, might be construed as something of a misnomer. In Yanshou's view, Chan and the Buddhist tradition are not, properly understood, independent of each other but two aspects of a single, harmonious unity, working in concert with each other.

The *Zongjing lu* is an encyclopedic compilation drawing widely from Buddhist scriptural sources and relying heavily on Buddhist doctrines to present its message. During the tenth century, when Chan was affirming its identity in factional terms based on lineage transmission, Yanshou strove to place Chan squarely and unequivocally within the larger tradition of Buddhism. According to traditional explanations, the *Zongjing lu* was issued in 961, following

Yanshou's lengthy tenure on Mt. Xuedou from the second year of the *guangshun* 廣順 era (952) until his appointment to the prestigious Lingyin 靈隱 Monastery in the first year of the *jianlong* 建隆 era (960).[1] The same year that the *Zongjing lu* was issued, Yanshou was appointed to head another major monastery, the Yongming si 永明寺, newly constructed to serve as a pillar and symbol of Wuyue support for Buddhism and its identity as a Buddhist kingdom. These appointments at leading temples marked a major turning point in Yanshou's career. The appointments were made by the reigning monarch of Wuyue, Prince Zhongyi 忠懿 (Qian Chu 錢俶), who also sponsored the publication of the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's massive work of Buddhist scholarship. This work, sanctioned by secular authority, heralded Yanshou's elevation to the status of leading spokesman for Wuyue Buddhism.[2] Prince Zhongyi (r. 948–78) also wrote a preface for the *Zongjing lu*, which fittingly expresses the role the prince intended for Buddhism and Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* in the Wuyue kingdom.

> There are three teachings within the boundaries of our territory. To rectify [behavior between] rulers and ministers, for affection between fathers and sons, and for cordial human relations, [there is the teaching of] Confucianism. It is my teacher. In moments of quiet and solitude, look and listen for the unobtainable. From the infinitesimally subtle, one soars to vacuous nonexistence. How one rides the wind, directing the world as if it were a play [*yujing*]! If the ruler obtains this [kind of understanding], what is well established will not end in ruin. If the people obtain it, they will be granted gifts beyond measure. [This is the teaching of] Daoism. It is the teacher of Confucianism. The four noble truths, twelve-linked chain of causation, the three miraculous powers, and the eight liberations—practice these regularly without neglect. Cultivate daily in order to obtain them. As soon as you realize nirvāṇa, you will forever understand what is true and eternal [*zhenchang* 真常]. [This is the teaching of] Buddhism. It is the source [*zong* 宗] of Daoism. These three teachings are all simply the cultivation of one's own mind [*zixin xiu* 自心修]. The *Records of the Source-Mirror* [*Zongjing lu*] was compiled by Chan master "Wisdom-Enlightenment" [Yongming Yanshou]. It consists of one hundred fascicles in total, containing all the profound words [of Buddhist teaching].[3]

Prince Zhongyi owed his success as Wuyue monarch in part to the support he received from Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶, who reputedly encouraged the young local commander, Qian Chu, to mount his bid for the throne from his position in Taizhou 台州, where Mt. Tiantai was located. With the death of

Prince Zhongxian 忠獻 (r. 941–47), followed quickly by the passing of Prince Zhongxun 忠遜 (r. 947–48), rule in Wuyue was thrown into crisis. It is in this situation that Deshao reportedly predicted of Zhongyi, "In future you will become ruler. Do not forget the gratitude [you owe] to Buddhism."[4] Quickly after Zhongyi's successful ascent to the Wuyue throne, he summoned the elder Deshao to the capital and appointed him "national preceptor" of Wuyue, where he served as senior spiritual advisor to the young, newly crowned ruler. At Deshao's bidding, Zhongyi orchestrated massive building campaigns aimed at solidifying Wuyue's reputation as a Buddhist kingdom.[5] This would have an important bearing on Yanshou's role in Wuyue as well. Yanshou eventually inherited Deshao's role as a spiritual advisor to the Wuyue kingdom, as is implied in Zhongyi's preface.[6] Yanshou, like Zhongyi, was Deshao's student, and the two together came to symbolize the cooperation between Buddhist monks and secular rulers in Wuyue. Zhongyi, the secular ruler, stood in charge of the temporal realm. Yanshou, the Buddhist prelate, was in charge of articulating the realm's spiritual ideology.

One of the features of Wuyue ideology was an espoused "harmony of the three teachings" (*sanjiao zhi yi* 三教之一), whereby Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism worked in concert for the benefit of the country and its citizens. This was not, as Prince Zhongyi's preface makes clear, a concert performed by equal partners. Each has benefits to contribute, to be sure, but as the preface makes clear, Buddhist teaching is the ultimate source of truth. Confucianism instructs in the civic, filial, and social virtues. Daoism profundities enhance power and wealth. But Buddhist teaching surpasses the others, for it instructs one toward enlightenment and an understanding of what is true and eternal.

As the official policy of Wuyue, the harmony of the Three Teachings is also a feature of Yanshou's teaching, though it does not amount to a major preoccupation. In general, and in the typically Tang Buddhist fashion he inherited, Yanshou concurs that Confucianism and Daoism are beneficial but ultimately limited in their approach. In the final analysis, Confucianism and Daoism are nothing more than forerunners that prepared for the coming revelation of Buddhist truth.[7] In effect, Prince Zhongyi and Yanshou's view on the relation between the Three Teachings is an adaptation of the view promoted earlier by Zongmi.[8]

Although clearly identified as a "Chan master" (*chanshi*), Zhongyi suggests that the Buddhism espoused by Yanshou in the *Zongjing lu* is the doctrinal Buddhism of the four noble truths, twelve-linked chain of causation, three miraculous powers, and eight liberations.[9] Awakening, moreover, is won only through constant and rigorous effort. This Buddhism, according to Zhongyi, is the source (*zong*) of the Daoist teaching on which Confucianism depends. It is the ultimate source of truth itself, as articulated through Buddhist scripture. It is

this source of truth (*zong*) that forms the conceptual framework around which Yanshou's compilation is centered.

The focus here is on Yanshou's understanding of Chan truth as represented in the term *zong*. A key term for indicating the nature of truth in Chan circles, *zong* served as the organizing principle of the Chan movement in China. The term was used to distinguish Chan from the doctrinally oriented "teaching" schools of Chinese Buddhism, indicated by the term *jiao* 教. By the Song dynasty (960–1279), the distinction between *zong* and *jiao* became so commonplace that it was used to distinguish different types of Buddhist monasteries in China. *Zong* temples were those officially designated as Chan establishments. *Jiao* temples were official designations for Tiantai monasteries, the remaining institutional representative of doctrinal Buddhism in the Song.[10] This term serves as the focal point for Yanshou's presentation of the Chan and Buddhist tradition in his voluminous work, the *Zongjing lu*.

The title of the *Zongjing lu* literally translates as "Source-Mirror Records," but this rendering does little to suggest the potency of its meaning. The term *zong* is difficult to translate, and allows for a variety of connotations and nuances, both within and outside the Chan context. One of the most important early religious and philosophical usages of the term occurs in the *Daode jing* 道德經, where one of the meanings of *dao* is "the *zong* of the myriad things" (萬物之宗), in other words, the source of all existence.[11] The term originally referred to the spirit of one's clan ancestor and appears frequently in the posthumous titles for Chinese emperors (e.g. *gaozong* 高宗, "High Ancestor"; *taizong* 太宗, "Great Ancestor"). As a result, its primary meaning in ancient China was as the progenitor of a specific clan. Etymologically, the character *zong* suggests the report given to deceased clan ancestors in the ancestral hall. In this instance, *zong* took on concrete meaning as clan guardian or protector, the object of ritual veneration by clan descendants. The living clan head was responsible for decisions affecting clan welfare and prosperity, for the preservation of the clan's identity and of its legacy. The authority of the clan head was symbolically linked to the clan progenitor, and one of the duties of clan heads was to report to the clan progenitor, whose presence was represented symbolically, on the affairs of the clan. Chinese emperors naturally seized on this symbolism, promoting their own ancestors (as well as themselves) as ancestors and protectors of the Chinese people, responsible for the welfare and prosperity of the country as a whole. In this sense, the imperial family represented the "grand clan" of the Chinese people, the focal point of "national" as opposed to individual clan identity, though clan solidarity, even in the case of the imperial family, was exclusive to the particular clan in question. There was no benefit attached to acknowledging others' ancestors.

The notion of *zong* as clan ancestor connected to lineal descendants played a major role in shaping Chan identity.[12] As the Chan tradition developed, it found favor in the notion of lineage as its organizing principle. Using lineage in this way was not unique to Chan. Other schools, particularly Tiantai, also emphasized the role of lineage in the transmission of its teachings, but of all the schools, Chan seized on the lineage motif as a mark of its unique identity. Ultimately, the Chan "school" came to designate not so much a set of doctrines, practices, and principles as the framework of an extended clan based on common ancestors and lineal connections. This framework served as the organizing principle for the classic works of Chan identity, the transmission histories, or "lamp records" (*denglu* 燈錄), compiled in the tenth and early eleventh centuries: the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (*Patriarch's Hall Collection*, comp. 952), the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Jingde Era Transmission of the Lamp Record*, comp. 1004), and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (*Tiansheng Era Supplementary Lamp Record*, comp. 1029). As an organizing principle, all three works share the belief in a common series of Chan ancestors, or patriarchs, extending from Śākyamuni Buddha in India to Mahākāśyapa and down through a series of Indian patriarchs conventionally fixed at twenty-eight. According to these records, the twenty-eighth patriarch, Bodhidharma, brought the transmission to China, initiating a series of Chinese Chan patriarchs. The transmission remains essentially unilineal through the sixth Chinese patriarch, Huineng, from which point it blossoms into a multilineal profusion. The aforementioned transmission records are principally concerned with documenting this profusion of Chan masters following the sixth patriarch, organizing them according to "clan" faction. The genesis of the so-called five houses (or five clans) of Chan Buddhism is found in these records. Organized in this fashion, the master-disciple relation serves as a surrogate father-son relationship, linking practitioners to the larger tradition of Chan ancestors and providing identity based on specific "clan" faction lineages. In this way, Chan came to mirror the Chinese clan system, organized around common ancestors, patrilineal style relationships, factional branch lineages, and so on.

Yanshou lived during the same time period in China when these multilineal Chan arrangements were being identified in the way suggested above. The notion of lineage as an organizing framework for Chan was undisputed by this time, and Yanshou also acknowledged it, but it did not have the overwhelming authority over Chan identity that it was to have later. As inheritor of the Buddhist scholastic tradition, Yanshou was influenced by other criteria, and these assumed overriding importance in Yanshou's understanding of Chan and its relation to the Buddhist tradition at large. The point of convergence, as well as the point of divergence, between Yanshou's interpretation of Chan and

those interpretations stressing lineage formation was the term *zong*. Like lineage based understandings of Chan, this term also served as the organizing principle for Yanshou, but his understanding of it differs, and it is easy to read into Yanshou's use of the term *zong* a rebuke of Chan groups who limit its meaning to "lineage" or "faction."

Yanshou's use of the term *zong* derives primarily from its more abstract and theoretical meaning, common to the Buddhist scholastic tradition. In the scholastic tradition, the term *zong* came to have at least three different primary meanings, depending on context: (1) a specific doctrine or thesis, or an interpretation of a doctrine; (2) the underlying theme, message, or teaching of a text; and (3) a religious or philosophical school.[13] In this regard, Yanshou's primary meaning for *zong* derives from (2), *zong* as the underlying theme, message, or teaching of a text, but as the underlying doctrine or principle of all Buddhist teaching and the primary indicator of the penultimate Buddhist teaching or school, *zong* implicitly contained aspects of all three of *zong*'s primary meanings. For Yanshou, the term *zong* took on an enhanced status, a kind of superstructure within which all manifestations of Buddhist teaching, including Chan lineage based factions, were included. In a word, *zong* functioned as the "grand progenitor," the source of all truth, however articulated. In this sense, one may look at it as embracing native Chinese meanings of *zong* as "the ancestor of progenitor of the myriad things," applied to a Buddhist context. It is also possible to link Yanshou's use of the term *zong*, in this context, to the notion of *zong* as progenitor of the imperial clan. Just as the imperial family represented the "grand clan" of the Chinese people, the focal point of "national" as opposed to individual clan identity, Buddhist *zong* represents the universal spiritual principle which all other spiritual and ethical teachings are ultimately indebted to. Non-Buddhist and Buddhist sectarian applications of this principle are like interpretations that foster individual "clan" (i.e., sectarian) identities. They should not be confused with the universal spiritual principle, *zong*, of which they are merely applications of.

There is also another meaning of *zong* that is germane to Yanshou's use of the term in the *Zongjing lu*. Among the seven meanings for the term *zong* (Jpn. *shū*) given by Nakamura Hajime, there is one meaning, "the provisional articulation of inexpressible truth," that is particularly appropriate for Yanshou and the *Zongjing lu*.[14] As I review below, Yanshou considered his compilation an expedient means for accessing the truth, which is ultimately beyond verbal articulation.

My analysis of *zong* in the *Zongjing lu* here focuses on fascicle 1. It is here that Yanshou makes clear his theoretical approach and methodology. It is also here that Yanshou addresses the relationship between Chan and the Buddhist tradition most clearly. In addition to fascicle 1, the only other places where

Yanshou addresses Chan in a consistent fashion is in fascicles 97 and 98.[15] Other than this, there are sporadic references to Chan figures throughout the *Zongjing lu*, but, as reviewed in a later chapter, this does not suggest that Yanshou accorded little significance to the teachings of Chan figures. In spite of the overwhelming space in the *Zongjing lu* devoted to scriptural citations and citations from major commentaries, the attention given to Chan sources at the beginning and end of the *Zongjing lu* suggest the strategic interest with which Yanshou regarded Chan. In fascicle 1, Yanshou addresses teachings attributed to Chan masters directly at the outset of his work. This suggests an importance for Chan in the *Zongjing lu* that is not evident in the work based on the amount of space devoted exclusively to Chan sources. I take up the treatment of Chan masters and Chan factions in the *Zongjing lu* in detail in the following chapters. Here, I explore the theoretical and methodological framework that Yanshou sets for the work in fascicle 1.

The "Deep Structure" of Buddhism: *Zong* and the Framework of the *Zongjing lu*

Yanshou's use of the term *zong* implies that the principles and teachings of Chan are in harmony with those of the scholastic Buddhist tradition, and it is for this interpretation that he is best known.[16] This harmony is evident from the following remarks by Yanshou.

> Furthermore, the scriptures say:
>
> The Buddha said: "In these forty-nine years I have not added one word to the Dharma, which all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future preach. As a result, I know you can arrive at the Way through the gate of universal mind. When those with superior abilities enter it directly, they will never rely on other methods. For those of average and inferior abilities who have not entered [the gate of universal mind], I have devised various paths as expedients."
>
> On account of this, the Patriarchs and the Buddhas point to the same [teaching]; the worthies and sages rely on the [same] profound [source]. Even though the names [of their teachings] are different, their essence is the same. As a result of a predestined affinity, the natures [of these different teachings] are intricately joined. The *Prajñā* scriptures simply speak of nonduality. The *Lotus sūtra* only talks of the universal vehicle. According to the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*, every circumstance is an opportunity for practice. In the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* everything ends in the

> secret storehouse. Tiantai teaching focuses exclusively on the three contemplations [*sanguan* 三觀]. Jiangxi 江西 proposed the essence as the truth in its entirety. For Mazu [Daoyi], mind is Buddha. Heze 荷澤 [Shenhui] directly pointed to knowing and seeing.
>
> Moreover, the teaching is explained in two kinds of ways. The first is through explicit explanations. The second is through implicit explanations. Explicit explanations are sūtras like the *Lankavatāra* and the *Gandavyūha* [*Miyan* 密嚴],[17] and treatises like the *Awakening of Faith* [*Qixin lun*] and *Consciousness-Only* [*Weishi lun*].[18] Implicit explanations establish their unique character according to the implicit truth [*zong*] taught in individual scriptures. For example, the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* regards miraculousness as the implicit truth. The *Diamond sūtra* regards nonabiding as the implicit truth. The *Huayan sūtra* regards the dharma-realm as the implicit truth. The *Nirvāṇa sūtra* regards Buddha-nature as the implicit truth. By relying on these one establishes a thousand pathways. All of them are different aspects of universal mind.[19]

There are several aspects to Yanshou's understanding of the term *zong*, most of which are inherited from the scholastic tradition that preceded him. According to Yanshou, the principle of unity within apparent diversity is sanctioned here by none other than the Buddha himself, who posited "universal mind" (*yixin*) as the orchestrating principle of Buddhist teaching. Allowing for expedient means to lead those of lesser ability, "universal mind" is couched in different guises according to circumstances. In spite of the apparent diversity, the essence (*ti* 體) is the same, invoking a common pattern in Chinese thought for explaining the relationship between a principle's noumenal essence (*li/ti*) and its phenomenal functionality (*shi/yong* 用). Yanshou then goes on to give specific examples demonstrating how this is evident in different representations of Buddhist teaching, using a conventional shorthand pairing well-known scriptures, schools, and masters with their commonly designated teachings. In this way, the *Lotus sūtra* is paired with the teaching of the "one-vehicle," the *Prajñā* scriptures with the teaching of "nonduality," and so on. Tiantai teaching is designated by its focus on the "three contemplations," a reference to the emphasis in Tiantai meditation practice on regarding phenomena in each of three ways, as "empty" or devoid of reality (*kong* 空), as nonsubstantial but existing provisionally as temporal phenomena (*jia* 假), and as "existing" in their true state between these two alternatives (*zhong* 中).[20] The teachings of Chan master Jiangxi, Mazu Daoyi, and Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 are similarly rendered according to the principal teachings associated with them: proposing the essence as the entire

truth (Jiangxi), maintaining that mind itself is Buddha (Mazu), and directly pointing to knowing and seeing (Shenhui).[21] All of the above cases point to examples in their respective areas (scriptures, schools, and masters) that can be extended throughout the entire corpus of Buddhist teaching, embracing all Buddhist discourse within a comprehensive framework.

Extending his methodology still further, Yanshou introduces the distinction between explicit and implicit explanations of Buddhist teaching. Explicit explanations, according to Yanshou, are the literal teachings contained in the countless scriptures and treatises of the Buddhist tradition. Implicit explanations, by contrast, are based on the unique character of individual teachings, which Yanshou terms their *zong*, their basic or implicit message. As examples, Yanshou gives the *zong* (or implicit message) of the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* as "miraculousness," an apparent reference to the miraculous activities of Vimālakīrti described therein. The *zong* of the *Diamond sūtra* is given as its teaching on "nonabiding." The *zong* of the *Huayan sūtra* is its teaching on "the dharmarealm," and the *zong* of the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* is its teaching on "Buddha-nature." For Yanshou, the concept *zong* indicates an exegetical method through which the implicit, underlying message of a teaching, its fundamental meaning as opposed to its explicit depiction, is determined. The method parallels the essence-function (*ti/yong*), noumena-phenomena (*li/shi*) dichotomy introduced earlier to explain the inherent unity of Buddhist teaching amid its apparent diversity (even contradiction).

At this stage, however, we are still left with the apparent diversity, described above. The sundry teachings of a particular scripture or school may be reduced to a common underlying message, but an array of different messages, the *zong* of individual scriptures or schools, remains. Yanshou refers to these as the "thousand pathways," the expedients for approaching the truth. For the truth itself, Yanshou posits a supraordinating *zong*, universal or all-encompassing mind (*yixin*). The individual *zong* of the various scriptural teachings are but different aspects of this overriding, unifying principle. Universal mind as the "great *zong*," the grand progenitor, represents the source of all truth, articulated through the individual *zong* of scriptures, schools, and teachings.

For Yanshou, the ultimate meaning of *zong* is the underlying or implicit truth of universal mind. Universal mind constitutes the fundamental principle of all truth, however it is depicted in different renditions of Buddhist teaching. This principle is all-encompassing and transcends sectarian bounds. Through it, the doctrinal differences of Buddhist schools are all resolved. Even non-Buddhist teachings like Confucianism and Daoism may be incorporated within this framework, as partial representations of truth implicit in the principle of universal mind.[22]

As a result of what I call the "deep structure" of Yanshou's concept of mind—understanding truth as implicit in the principle of universal mind—Yanshou refers to mind alternately as "the deep abode of myriad good deeds" (*wanshan*), "the profound source of all wisdom," "the precious ruler of all existence," or "the primordial ancestor of the multitude of spiritual beings."[23] The "precious ruler" (*baowang* 寶王) referred to here is the Treasure King, or Buddha. In Yanshou's interpretation, the deep structure of mind resolves apparent contradictions in Buddhist teaching, including the much-heralded division in Chan circles between the gradual and sudden teachings of the Northern and Southern school factions. It is the abode of myriad good deeds *and* the source of all wisdom, a shorthand reference to practitioners bound for enlightenment through the accumulation of merit and those whose awakening is based on discerning insight. It functions as the ruler over existence and the progenitor of spiritual beings.

> [The mind-mirror] in fact refers to the spiritual abode of living beings and the true source [*yizong* 義宗] of the myriad dharmas [i.e., phenomena]. It is constantly changing in unpredictable ways, expanding and contracting with unimpeded spontaneity. It manifests traces as conditions warrant; names are formed according to the things [manifested]. When Buddhas realize the [mind-]essence, it is called complete enlightenment. When bodhisattvas cultivate it, it is known as the practice of the six perfections. Transformed by "ocean-wisdom," it becomes water. Offered by dragon maidens, it becomes a pearl. Scattered by heavenly maidens, it becomes petals that do not stick to one. Sought after by good friends, it becomes a treasure that is granted as one pleases. Awakened to by pratyeka-Buddhas, it becomes the twelve-links of causal arising. Attained by śrāvaka-Buddhas, it becomes the four noble truths and the emptiness of self-nature. Apprehended on non-Buddhist paths, it becomes a river of erroneous views. Grasped by common people, it becomes the sea of birth and death. Discussed in terms of its essence, it is in subtle harmony with principle [*li*]. Considered in terms of phenomena [*shi*], it is in tacit agreement with the conditioned nature of existence as properly understood [according to Buddhist teaching].[24]

Following the Buddhist principle of expedient methods, Buddhist teaching is understood differently according to the capacities of the hearer. The "mind," understood here as the malleable essence of existence, assumes different guises as it is variously applied. This accounts for the variations that occur in different renditions of Buddhist teaching, and the varied nature of phenomenal existence.

As the "deep structure" of existence, mind accounts for the diversity encountered in both the abstract realm of mental constructs and the concrete realm of physical objects.

The Means to Truth: Yanshou's Methodology in the *Zongjing lu*

Yanshou uses the metaphor of the "mind-mirror" (*xinjing* 心鏡) as a synonym for the "source-mirror" (*zongjing* 宗鏡). His discussion of the "mind-mirror" pertains directly to the *Zongjing lu*'s aim and contents.

> The eyes are the mirror of mind [*xinjing*]. When the [mind-mirror] reveals universal truth [*yidao* 一道], [all things] will appear in it as pristine and void [of self-nature]. It avoids all kinds of perversities without excluding even the slightest of things. In their wondrous essence [*miaoti* 妙體] [phenomena] are devoid of self[-nature], and the light of perfection [*yuanguang* 圓光] is not alien to them. In the expanse of the infinite, everything reverts to the state of a fleeting appearance. The appearances adopted by the myriad objects all enter the state of luminosity itself. This is none other than the doctrine [*zhi* 指] of "a single flavor" taught [by the sixth patriarch] at Caoqi 曹溪 that the various patriarchs have all transmitted; it is the implicit truth [*zong*] of nonduality taught [by Śākyamuni] at White Crane's Grove that various scriptures all explain.[25]

As stated previously, all contradictions and inconsistencies are resolved in the principle of mind. It reveals universal truth pristine and void, and the wondrous essence, depicted as the light of perfection devoid of self-nature. In the expanse of the infinite, the duration of things is but a fleeting moment, an appearance that is the state of luminosity (i.e., enlightenment) itself. This is the doctrine inherent in the teaching transmitted by Chan patriarchs, and the truth inherent in the various Buddhist scriptures. Here we encounter for the first time the syncretism between Chan and the scriptures of Buddhist teaching that is at the core of Yanshou's understanding of Chan. This topic is taken up in detail below, and I defer my discussion of it until then. It is important to note at this juncture that the presupposed harmony of Buddhist teaching is never far from Yanshou's mind. As the penultimate teaching of Buddhism, according to Yanshou, Chan teaching assumes the highest position in his eclectic, syncretic mix.

Were it not for the propensity of people to conceive a realm of objects apart from mind (*lixin* 離心), in other words to construct duality, the method for retrieving

the pristine and void universal truth, the wondrous essence and state of luminous enlightenment, would be unnecessary. But people become attached to objects as if they were real, and it is through these attachments that they may be led back to the truth.

> Literary compositions [*wen* 文] and rational principles [*li*] are both void; they are illusory objects created by consciousness. The volumes of explanations are proof of this. The vast sea of all encompassing existence that universal mind manifests is correctly accounted for in the Perfect Teaching [*yuanzong* 圓宗]. [Throughout] the eight consciousnesses, the lamp of wisdom lights up the darkness to reveal perversity.[26]

While literary texts and the principles contained in them are ultimately void and illusory, they are useful guides for realizing that phenomena are ultimately void and illusory, for realizing that this void and illusory state is luminous enlightenment itself. The "seal of existence" (*haiyin* 海印) referred to here is an abbreviation for *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧, the samādhi experience of the Buddha when he preached the *Huayan jing* and revealed that all things (past, present, and future) are manifestations of the mind. In Huayan thought, all things, accordingly, as manifested reflections, are inherently tranquil, enlightened suchness, otherwise known as the Perfect Teaching. According to Consciousness-Only (Weishi) teaching, sentient beings possess eight distinct consciousnesses. The first six correspond to the perceptions of the five senses and the activities of the conscious mind; the seventh (*manas-vijñāna*) and eighth (*ālaya-vijñāna*) to the subconscious mind. The first seven are thought of as products of the eighth and collectively called "transformed consciousnesses." The eighth is the "seed" or "store-consciousness." The light being shone on darkness by the torch of wisdom presumably refers to exposing the false clinging of the seventh consciousness, which mistakes the eighth consciousness for a permanent self. In short, like Huayan teaching, Consciousness-Only teaching is a useful means of exposing the inherent flaws of human perception and bringing human beings back to their true nature.

> Thus, even though I have revealed the main entrances to the dharma-realm, I must explain all the various meanings of nature and appearance contained in the special teaching of the one-vehicle.[27] With the perfect understanding inherent in great awakening, everything is interconnected and is a gateway for entering [the dharma-realm]. Only with the full wisdom [of a Buddha] does one miraculously penetrate [the meaning of this special teaching]. It is simply that those with weak capacities do not reflect on it; with lack

> of study they have difficulty understanding it thoroughly. They do not realize the two gates of nature and appearance are the essence [*ti*] and function [*yong*] of their own minds. If they utilize [the mind's] functioning [ability] but ignore its ever-present essence, it is like a wave without water. If they realize the [mind]-essence while denying it as the gateway of miraculous functioning, it is like water without waves. There is never water without waves, nor waves without water. As waves originate entirely from water and water crests entirely as waves, so does nature reveal itself entirely in appearances and appearances originate entirely in nature.[28]

Relying heavily on Huayan doctrines, Yanshou explains how what is self-evident to the enlightened mind needs to be explained for ordinary beings.[29] Only when one understands the relationship between essence and function, and between nature and appearance, does one counteract the bias inherent in deluded, dualistic understanding.

> I will now clarify in detail the general and distinctive [characteristics of essence and function], and discuss at length the differences and similarities [between them]. By studying the root-origin of each dharma and investigating the roots and branches of conditioned phenomena, one can explain the source-mirror [*zongjing*] through the minute subtleties revealed in it. Since there is not a single dharma that escapes form, the thousand variations [forms assume] are encountered everywhere. If one pursues them fully, they are interwoven with extensive implications [regarding their essence and function, nature and appearance].[30]

This is the genesis of Yanshou's own methodology for revealing the truth (*zong*) inherent in all existence. It is rooted in concepts borrowed from scholastic Buddhism, the *ti-yong* (essence-function) pattern of Huayan, and the *xing-xiang* 性相 (nature-appearance) pattern of Tiantai. The concepts themselves represent a shorthand for the conceptual structure, the *zong*, of Huayan and Tiantai teaching, the greatest of the Tang scholastic Buddhist schools. Through a detailed discussion of how phenomena (dharmas) are accounted for in each of these conceptual frameworks, Yanshou proposes to set forth the "source-mirror" (*zongjing*), an allusion to the title of his work.

Yanshou then sets forth the guiding principles through which the truth is revealed in the *Zongjing lu*.

> I have selected and summarized the essential writings [on the matter], and set them forth [here] in one hundred fascicles. The

> fascicles consist of content pertaining to universal mind—they are able to make difficult ideas among the vast sea of teachings easy to understand and perfectly clear to one's passing thoughts; they make the unlimited complexities of the true source [of all phenomena] readily observable and in tacit harmony with one's thought processes. To compare, when the spiritual jewel is in one's hand, one is forever precluded from rushing around in search of it. Or when the tree of enlightenment provides shade, it completely eliminates shadows and traces. After one finds the true treasure [*zhenbao*] in the spring pond, picking through pebbles [in search of it] becomes completely unnecessary. When one finds one's original face in the ancient mirror, deranged notions suddenly disappear.[31]

Yanshou here alludes to well-known metaphors in the Buddhist tradition. Rushing around in search of the spiritual jewel (i.e., enlightenment) while actually having been in possession of it from the very beginning is a common metaphor for the ultimate futility of religious exercises given our inherent, enlightened nature. The "spring pond" is an allusion to the refreshing nature of nirvāṇa; picking up pebbles a reference to the aimless search for the pearl (true treasure, i.e., nirvāṇa) among the pebbles along the shore. The "original face in the ancient mirror" refers to the discovery of one's original enlightened nature; the "crazed mind" is the ordinary, deluded mind, which ceases to function as such on the recovery of one's intrinsic, enlightened nature. All of these allusions suggest to the reader the result of understanding the essential writings of the Buddhist tradition on universal mind. The difficult ideas contained in Buddhist teaching and its unending complexity are here reduced to one simple undergirding principle, the superordinating *zong*, which I have termed above the "deep structure" of Buddhism.

The benefits of uncovering this deep structure of Buddhist truth are described by Yanshou as follows.

> One can, on the basis of this, extricate what is deeply embedded, expose and attack it, forever eliminating the roots of uncertainty. Without expending even the slightest effort, one completely opens the treasure storehouse. Without using the slightest bit of energy, one suddenly obtains the mystical jewel. It is referred to as the place of great tranquil extinction [i.e., nirvāṇa] in the one-vehicle, and the place for correct cultivation and practice in the true *āranya* [i.e., Buddhist cloister or monastery]. It is the objective realm that the Tathāgata himself appears in, the dharma-gate where the Buddhas

originally dwell. Consequently, after exerting oneself everywhere, one is a "worthy." One experiences the mystery inherent in every detail, and subsequently gains the wisdom to fathom the vast sea of nature. Through study, one penetrates the true origin.[32]

Commenting on a verse, "This consciousness, this mind—how admirable, how excellent," Yanshou describes consciousness as "the realization attained by all the Buddhas of the ten directions" and mind as "the corpus of writings of [Buddhist] teaching rooted in the temporal circumstances of each age."[33] The consciousness described here is the enlightened consciousness of a Buddha. The implication is that one who "penetrates the true origin," following Yanshou's suggestion above, will realize the enlightened consciousness of a Buddha. In other words, even though the corpus of Buddhist writings may appear daunting and impenetrable in its difficulty and complexity, with the "key" Yanshou provides, its secret may be revealed and enlightenment attained. This finding and employing the "key" is a central theme among Buddhists of the age in which Yanshou lived. From this concern would emerge the principal characteristics of Song Buddhism: *gong'an* 公案 practice in Chan and *nianfo* invocation in Pure Land—straightforward methods that promised practitioners direct access to enlightenment and salvation. Rather than bypassing the Buddhist scholastic tradition as *gong'an* and *nianfo* practice tended to do, Yanshou's strategy offered a direct key for unlocking the barriers scholastic Buddhism presented. Rather than denying the scholastic tradition, Yanshou adapted it to new circumstances, and made it accessible through a simplified code.

By viewing mind as "the corpus of writings of [Buddhist] teaching rooted in the temporal circumstances of each age," Yanshou contextualizes the "truth" expounded in the Buddhist schools that preceded him. In the *panjiao* 判教 technique of "distinguishing the teachings" (i.e., doctrinal taxonomy), each school presents its teachings as the final, absolute revelation of Buddhism, and relativizes the message of those Buddhist schools that came before. In the systemization of Buddhist teaching using *panjiao*, previous manifestations of Buddhism are arranged hierarchically to demonstrate how they lead to the final revelation. Yanshou follows this technique in some ways. His vision of a great, all-encompassing *zong* was wedded to his notion of Chan in ways that will be described later. This represented a culmination of sorts, but not like previous ones. Yanshou's *zong* was not based on any new revelation of Buddhist teaching—no new translation from Buddhist scriptures or new way of organizing the message contained in them that characterized his scholastic predecessors. Yanshou's *zong* was, quite simply, the ultimate source of *all* the revelations and manifestations of Buddhist teaching. Viewing them in retrospect, he saw clearly that the

writings on Buddhism "were rooted in the temporal circumstances of each age." Would his own writings be subject to the same principle of temporal relativity? Yanshou is silent on this point, but by implication he would seem to have no choice but to accept it. On the other hand, his was not a new revelation but a pointing to the truth that supported all revelations. In this sense, Yanshou may view his proposal as moving beyond the restrictions that bound previous claims and therefore, immune from the limitations that bound them. Admittedly, his proposal is also rooted in the exigencies of his own time and cannot escape the temporal horizon that spawned it.

Returning to Yanshou's commentary on the verse cited above, he describes as "admirable" how "the effects of practicing according to Buddhist teaching and doctrine ultimately propel one [toward enlightenment]" and "excellent" how "the initial realization stemming from trusting in Buddhist liberation eventually leads [to enlightenment]."[34] This amounts to a confirmation of the efficacy of Buddhist faith and practice. Trust in Buddhism and belief in the effects of practice according to Buddhist teaching and doctrine lead one unmistakably toward the goal of enlightenment. More important here, perhaps, is what is not said. The affirmation of conventional Buddhist belief and practice as the true path to enlightenment undermines the rhetorical claims of "radical" Chan to access enlightenment by circumventing, even consciously renouncing, the traditional Buddhist path. This, too, is a subject discussed in more detail below.

Countless treatises, according to Yanshou, have been produced explaining and interpreting Buddhism, and numerous sages have embodied its message.[35] Yanshou explains his own motives for compiling the *Zongjing lu*.

> As a result, I have chosen what is unique and promoted what is exquisite [among these treatises and conversations], investigating their seminal aspects and penetrating their subtleties. I merely offer it as a thick rope for spreading widely the net of correct teaching. I have picked out passages among the teachings of the five vehicles able to generate spiritual responses, and offer them to Heaven as the foremost teaching of Buddhism.[36] I provide extensive evidence that the benefits of this fundamental source [*zong*] are limitless. I have striven to make the true Dharma [*zhengfa*] last forever, to destroy the forest of perverse views contained in non-Buddhist teachings. I have been able to provide wide access to salvation for beings possessing consciousness, and blocked the ruts leading to confusion in the lesser vehicle.[37]

Yanshou's own writings thus function as a kind of expedient means aimed at rectifying false views and nullifying one's mistakes. This leads to an interlocking series of benefits and activities, articulated by Yanshou as follows:

1. For the purpose of benefiting oneself, one initiates wisdom and virtue.
2. For the purpose of benefiting others, one establishes activities for bestowing blessings on others.
3. For the purpose of achieving wisdom and virtue, one compassionately initiates activities aimed at saving all beings without restriction.
4. For the purpose of establishing activities to bestow benefits on others, one possesses a mind of compassion toward all beings that are similarly constituted.
5. For the purpose of [possessing a mind of compassion toward all beings] similarly constituted, one initiates a spontaneously freed mind [*wuxin*].
6. For the purpose of [giving rise to activities aimed at saving all beings] without restriction, one's activities become the work of a Buddha. When one initiates a spontaneously free mind, what joy is not provided? When one's activities become the work of a Buddha, what pain is not borne? When one is constantly joyful, one is equally concerned for [*guan*] those of superior and inferior abilities. When one endures every pain, one saves everyone, be they bitter enemies or intimate friends.[38]

As a result, Yanshou stipulates that "sentient beings, regardless of their capacities, are all destined for [*gui* 歸] the glories of the same rank [i.e., Buddhahood]."[39] The language and thought here are consistent with Yanshou's claim in another major treatise of his, the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, where the practice of myriad good deeds (*wanshan*) is said to lead one to the same place (*tongui* 同歸), the rank of Buddhahood.[40] The *Zongjing lu* exposes this inherent Buddhist message to practitioners. The *Wanshan tonggui ji* illustrates this message in a call to execute it through actual practice. It is, according to Yanshou, the realm of complete goodness and beauty, and the all-inclusive gateway of causes leading to enlightenment.[41] Through it, one initiates *bodhi* and *prajñā*, and as Yanshou states, "when one knows the circumstances for achieving Buddhahood, one is suddenly and perfectly free of obstruction; when one understands the path for returning home, one goes there directly without any hesitation."[42] Some, however, do not heed the call.

> Some deviate from this [teaching] to practice independently [*biexiu* 別修], following the erroneous explanations of others. It is like pulling on horns to get milk, or climbing a tree in search of fish.[43] Even if one follows them for three aeons, one will never obtain a single benefit.[44]

The "independent practitioners" (*biexiu*) probably refers to certain members of the Hongzhou Chan 洪州禪 faction derived from Mazu Daoyi and his

descendants in the Linji lineage. In his preface to the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the literatus Yang Yi explained Chan in terms of "a special [or independent] practice outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biexiu* 教外別修) in recognition of the growing influence of the Linji faction at the Song court.[45] In their most extreme form, they advocated a "radical" practice devoid of references to conventional Buddhism. Scriptures and images became fire kindling. Engaging in traditional forms of Buddhist practice was tantamount to forging bonds of delusion. What was required was a radical break, through the limits imposed by doctrinal Buddhist teachings. They represented, in this regard, the antithesis of Yanshou's vision for Chan. In spite of this cautionary note, Yanshou, like Zongmi before him, actually accommodated Mazu's Chan teaching and treated it in approving terms. The subject of Yanshou's understanding and interpretation of Mazu's teaching is taken up later.

Rather than seeking liberation by defying Buddhist teaching, one will receive extensive support, says Yanshou, by trusting in it. He likens it to a fast boat flowing with the current, made even more effective through favorable winds and the employment of oars and poles. Borrowing the famous metaphor of the jeweled city from the *Lotus sūtra*, Yanshou affirms that one will quickly realize enlightenment in this way, and that the various capacities sentient beings are endowed with are easily accommodated. In the past, Buddhahood has always been realized in this way, whether by Śākyamuni, Kaśyāpa, Maitreya, or Samantabhādra. Through the same methods of realization they employed, contemporary practitioners may also sit in Śākyamuni's seat, don Kaśyāpa's robe, climb Maitreya's pavilion, and enter Samantabhādra's "dharma-world" body.[46] Compared to the Linji Chan faction, the aim (enlightenment) is the same, but the method is radically different. Ironically, however, the presupposition that everything that one sees before one and has contact with already (has always) existed in an enlightened state, is the same.

> If in the past, the king of enlightenment [i.e., Śākyamuni] depended on it to become the Buddha, and in the future, great heroes [i.e., bodhisattvas] will rely on it to realize the truth, then what dharma-gate does not reveal it, what doctrinal principle does not divulge it? There is not a single form [of the objective realm] that is not the basis for samādhi. There is not a single sound that is not an entrance to *dhāranī*. After a single taste of it, everything is transformed into its true flavor. After getting a single whiff of it, everything enters the dharma-world. The wind, tree branches, the moon, and a sandy beach all can transmit mind [*chuanxin* 傳心]. A blazing fire, an island, clouds, and a grove of trees all promote the wondrous message [of

> Buddhist teaching] [*miaozhi* 妙指]. With each and every step, one treads the golden world. . . . As soon as one opens the eye [of wisdom] for contemplating images, one unequivocally returns to one's own subjective standpoint [*zizong*]. In a state of tranquility, one instructs the mind to seek the pearl [i.e., enlightenment], fully returning to the original truth [of who one is] [*benfa*].[47]

In the awakened state, the realm of ordinary objects is a golden Buddhaland. All dharmas, by their very being, are implicitly joined to *zong*. Investigate any one of them, and you are led back to the implicit truth of their existence. There is not a single form of the objective realm that is not a basis for realizing enlightenment. As in pronouncements characteristic of Chan, the wind, tree branches, a moon, and a sandy beach are all capable of transmitting mind, or truth. A blazing fire, an island, clouds, and a grove of trees all proclaim Buddhist truth. It is the same implicit truth of one's own existence. Every step taken, every thing encountered, is enlightenment experienced.

To make his intentions explicit, Yanshou outlines his methodology in the *Zongjing lu* as follows.

> Now, to make evident the great purpose of the patriarchs and Buddhas and the correct implicit truth [*zhengzong*] of Buddhist scriptures and treatises, I have condensed the profuse writings of Buddhism, seeking out only the essential teachings. By provisionally putting forth questions and answers, and citing extensively [from scriptures and treatises] to provide evidence, I advance that universal mind [*yixin*] is the implicit truth [*zong*], revealing the myriad dharmas like a mirror [*jing*]. I have brought together here the profound doctrines [*shenyi* 深義] formulated in times past, and selected and summarized what is contained throughout the entire corpus of writings in the "treasure storehouse" [i.e., canon of Buddhist scriptures]. All Buddhist writings are represented here. I refer to them as "records" [*lu*].[48]

In explaining the title of the work, Yanshou stipulates that *zong* is the "correct implicit truth," the *zhengzong*, or the implicit truth correctly understood, of Buddhist scriptures and treatises. Through reference to the "essential teachings" culled from the corpus of Buddhist writings, Yanshou advances that "universal mind [*yixin*] is the implicit truth [*zong*], revealing the myriad dharmas like a mirror," referring to the mirror's capacity to reflect objects. The mirror here is a metaphor for mind, especially the mind engaged in mental cultivation, or meditation. To students of Chan raised on the *The Platform Sūtra of the*

Sixth Patriarch, even the mention of a mirror's reflecting capacity brings up notions of a dust-wiping Shenxiu 神秀, trapped in the delusions of his dualistic notions, vainly striving after truth. Yanshou's use of the mirror metaphor questions the degree to which *The Platform Sūtra* critique was accepted in Chan circles. For Yanshou, the ability to expose all, to reveal all as it is, is the ability of the mind to illuminate things as they exist in their such-like state. The mind thus becomes the "source-mirror" or "mirror of implicit truth" (*zongjing*). Yanshou's use of the terms *zong* as "implicit truth" and *jing* as "the mirror of myriad dharmas" may be likened to the relationship between *li* (principle or noumena) and *shi* (the realm of activity or phenomena), or *xing* (nature) and *xiang* (form), and so on that is found in doctrinal discourses. In this regard, we see Yanshou putting a Chan "stamp" on existing Buddhist conceptual frameworks, and in the process, attempting to provide a nuanced definition of the Buddhist tradition from a Chan perspective. Yanshou's other major work, the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, may also be understood in terms of this framework. The "myriad good deeds" (*wanshan*) represent the practitioner's performance in the realm of myriad dharmas that the mind mirrors (*jing*). The "common end" (*tonggui*) represents the implicit truth (*zong*), the destiny to which the performance of good deeds brings one.

The "records," or *lu*, are the "profound doctrines [*shenyi*] formulated in times past, selected and summarized contents drawn from throughout the entire corpus of Buddhist writings," in other words, the Buddhist canon. Here again, Yanshou is marking Chan literary territory in stark contrast to "factional" Chan. Chan factions that interpreted *zong* not in terms of an "implicit truth" pervading all versions of Buddhist teaching but as a truth intrinsic to "mind-to-mind transmission" unique to Chan also created "records" (*lu*) documenting their lineage affiliations. Yanshou's use of the term *lu* suggests an alternate basis for conceiving a Chan "record," one quite at odds with "transmission of the lamp" genre of "records" that came to characterize faction-based Chan lineages.

The placement of Chan sources in the ZJL is strategic, not haphazard. At the outset of the ZJL, Yanshou explains his aims for the work in terms of a tripartite structure.[49]

> I have divided the work to form one hundred fascicles, broadly outlined in three sections. The first section establishes the correct implicit truth [of Buddhism] [*zhengzong*]; I regard it as the ultimate goal. The next section puts forth questions and answers; I use them to dispel feelings of doubt. The final section cites from the corpus of Buddhist writings for verification; it earns the reader's full trust. Consequently, I have transmitted this teaching [i.e., the *Zongjing lu*]

> so that spiritually endowed beings may all repay the Buddha's kindness by practicing wondrous good deeds everywhere.[50]

The ultimate goal, the first section, is to establish the correct implicit truth (*zhengzong* 正宗).[51] The next section dispels doubts by providing answers to hypothetical questions. The final section leads to full trust in Buddhist teaching by citing from the vast corpus of Buddhist writings that reveal the truth. In the end, it is Yanshou's hope that his writing will incite beings to repay the Buddha's kindness by practicing good deeds everywhere.[52] The first section, "stipulating *zong*" (*biaozong* 標宗), begins with fascicle one, following Yanshou's preface which concludes with the statement on his aim and method cited above (T 48.417b). Section two, "Questions and Answers" (*wenda* 問答), begins a few pages later in fascicle one, just before the first question is put forth (T 48.419c).[53] Section three, "Citation-Verification" (*yinzheng* 引證), begins at the opening of fascicle ninety-four (T 48.924a), where the claim is made that the "question and answer" section has been concluded. The introduction of Chan fragments in section one, "stipulating *zong*," and the high concentration of fragments in section three, "citation-verification," underscores the place of privilege Yanshou granted Chan teaching in the *Zongjing lu*. At the beginning of that section Yanshou states:

> Now, for the sake of those whose power of faith is not yet deep and whose minute doubts are not yet severed, I will further quote one hundred twenty Mahāyāna scriptures, one hundred twenty books of the sayings of the [Chan] patriarchs, and sixty collections of the worthies and noble ones, altogether the subtle words of three hundred books.[54]

Yanshou's citations from the one hundred twenty books of sayings of Chan patriarchs (*zhu zuyu yibaiershi ben* 諸祖語一百二十本) referred to here is likely our only information for many of these sources, underscoring the value of the *Zongjing lu* as an important repository of Chan teachings.[55]

Yanshou proceeds to describe his methodology in more detail, following the tripartite outline of establishing the correct, implicit truth, employing questions and answers, and citing scriptures for verification. Regarding the implicit truth (*zong*) of Buddhism, Yanshou informs us that "The patriarchs revealed the principle of Chan (*Chanli* 禪理), transmitting the correct, implicit truth (*zhengzong*) through silent, tacit agreement (*moqie* 默契). The Buddha preached doctrinal methods (*jiaomen* 教門), establishing the cardinal message [of Buddhism] (*dazhi* 大旨) through the corpus of writings."[56] Yanshou here outlines the relationship between Chan and doctrinal Buddhism, positing both as transmissions

of *zong*. The preaching of the Buddha, as recorded in the corpus of Buddhist scriptures, is equated with the silent transmission of truth in the Chan tradition, amounting to a kind of exoteric and esoteric disposition of Buddhist truth. Yanshou further asserts that on the basis of this, later students are devoted to the teachings of former worthies. By implication, current students are indebted to the traditions passed on by their forebears, both the public explanation of that teaching passed down in written form, and the private transmission of truth between masters and disciples.[57]

Although Yanshou acknowledges the secret, esoteric tradition of Chan transmission, the *Zongjing lu* is devoted largely to its public exposition via Buddhist scriptures. He openly acknowledges that his task is limited by the means he has chosen, openly posing the question: "Since this is, in point of fact, a teaching for inner realization, how can it be obtained through literary explanations (*wenquan* 文詮)?"[58] In response, Yanshou asserts that the abundant interpretations offered in Buddhist writings "lift the barrier of uncertainty to the door of correct wisdom, and sever the weeds of falsehood in the field of true enlightenment."[59] The knowledge unleashed through the wisdom contained in Buddhist scriptures is inexhaustible, surpassing anything achieved through the senses. For the sake of those who have not yet seen or heard of this, Yanshou explains the "wondrous seeing of no-seeing," and introduces the "perfect hearing of no-hearing." For those who do not yet know of it and are not yet liberated, he discusses the "true knowing of non-knowing," and confirms the "great liberation of non-liberation."[60] Using common Buddhist metaphors especially popular in Chan, Yanshou describes how students may shed the bonds of their limited perspective and break through to the transcendent perspective of Buddhist wisdom and enlightenment.[61] Yanshou's professed wish is that once the truth is realized, the explanations for it provided in the *Zongjing lu* will be forgotten, a wish that emulates the alleged words of the Buddha when he indicated that his teaching was an expedient only—once the other shore of nirvana is reached, the raft (Buddhist teaching) is discarded.

> What I hope is that through the finger you will see the moon, after catching the hare you will forget the snare, embrace the universal and unite with the implicit truth [*zong*], discard the explanations and seek the principle [inherent in them], understand that the myriad things depend on the "self" [for their existence], and realize that wondrous enlightenment exists in one's physical body.[62]

In this way, Yanshou posits the collected materials in the *Zongjing lu* as a kind of literary expedient, guiding people toward the truth. The aim is that once the principle has been grasped and enlightenment attained, the expedient may

be discarded. In this fashion, Yanshou connects the compiling of the *Zongjing lu* to the Buddhist tradition of expedient or skillful means (*upāya*).

Regarding the method of posing of questions and answers to resolve doubts, Yanshou claims: "Through questions, feelings of doubt can be exposed. Through answers, wondrous explanations exhibit the inherent meaning of this perfect teaching. . . . If not for the provisional use of the written corpus [of Buddhist teachings], there would be no way to eliminate emotional attachments."[63] The question-and-answer method executes Yanshou's purpose in the *Zongjing lu* to lead people to the truth that Buddhist teaching describes.

Regarding the citing of sources for verification, Yanshou proclaims:

> At the time of the latter age of the Law [when Buddhism is in decline] [*modai* 末代], it is rare to encounter anyone with great capacity. [Powers of] contemplation are weak, the mind is wayward, roots [of goodness] slender, and [powers of] wisdom slight. Even when [people] know the principles and doctrines of Buddhist teaching and are devoted to them to some extent, the questions and answers posed to resolve their doubts gradually eliminate their confusion. Desiring to strengthen the power of their trust in Buddhism, I provisionally avail myself [of sources] for verifying and clarifying [the inherent truth of Buddhism]. I cite extensively from the sincere words of the patriarchs and Buddhas, in secret and tacit agreement with the great truth [of Buddhist teaching], perfect and permanent. I have selected the essential teachings from throughout the scriptures and treatises to perfectly ascertain true mind.[64]

Using the theory of the decline of Buddhist Law (*modai*, a.k.a. *mofa* 末法), Yanshou posits that the current age is one in which expedient teachings are especially needed. Good teachers are rare, particularly in such periods, and there are numerous distractions. Given the political and social chaos of the times Yanshou lived in, and the collapse of the Tang Buddhist establishment, one can easily understand how Yanshou and his contemporaries related to the theory of Buddhist decline. In this environment, general explanations themselves are not enough. Yanshou believes that people need to be reintroduced to the actual teachings presented in the scriptures. To this end, he cites from them at length, claiming to have selected the "essential teachings from throughout the scriptures and treatises to perfectly ascertain true mind." Without acknowledging the influences motivating Yanshou, it is difficult for the contemporary reader to fathom the *Zongjing lu*'s contents and the rationale for its compilation.

Concluding Remarks

The need to edit copious amounts of material into encyclopedic compilations was keenly felt in the early Song and became a defining feature of the age. In terms of Buddhist sources, *Dasong Seng shilue* 大宋僧史略 (Historical Digest of the Sangha compiled in the Song Dynasty), *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks compiled in the Song Dynasty), *Jingde Chuandenglu*, and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* were all products of this tendency, commissioned by imperial decree. More significant indicators of the emphasis on literary collections at this time can be seen in the massive secular compilations such as the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature),[65] *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings compiled in the Taiping era), and *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records compiled in the Taiping era).[66]

The motivation for Yanshou in compiling the *Zongjing lu* is thus connected with the dual aim of preserving the Buddhist literary tradition and reintroducing it to audiences who have become disassociated with it. As such, he contributed to the early Song propensity to search for cultural identity through massive literary compilations.

This chapter has introduced the *Zongjing lu* through an analysis of the theoretical and methodological framework set out in fascicle 1. The terms chosen for the title were not coincidental but carefully chosen to refute assertions by Chan factions at the time. *Zong* thus became the ineffable underlying principle or implicit truth of all Buddhist teaching, as opposed to a factional identity based on an esoteric transmission between minds. However, true to the universalistic aims that Yanshou sets out in the *Zongjing lu*, factional Chan is not denied but is subsumed within Yanshou's supraordinating concept of *zong* as "deep structure" and "progenitor of all phenomena." *Jing*, as the "mirror of myriad dharmas," represents the phenomenal realm that *zong* creates, and the means through which one finds one's way back to *zong*, the implicit truth from which the myriad dharmas derive. *Zong* and *jing* thus function in tandem, as two aspects of a single reality, and are reminiscent of other Buddhist conceptual pairings, *li* (noumena) and *shi* (phenomena), *xing* (nature) and *xiang* (form), and so on, which are similarly constructed. Yanshou's use of the mirror here stands in contrast to its use in the *Platform sūtra* as a symbol of deluded understanding that comes from objectifying reality, and should be understood with this context in mind.[67] Yanshou's use of the term *lu*, as well, as a "record" of the "profound doctrines . . . selected and summarized . . . from throughout the entire corpus of Buddhist writings" contrasts sharply with the way the term was appropriated in works delineating Chan factions.

3

Establishing the Chan *Zong*

Yanshou's Notion of Chan in the Zongjing Lu

After the decline of Tang Buddhist scholasticism, Chinese Buddhism searched for new ways to construct an identity. By the end of the ninth century, the Tang Buddhist schools that had enjoyed imperial and aristocratic patronage were physically and spiritually exhausted.[1] After the Huichang 會昌 suppression (c. 841–46), the major schools of Tang Buddhism were deprived of support. Without the assistance of the emperor and the aristocracy, Buddhist institutions fell on hard times. With the decline and fall of Tang authority, Buddhism was viewed by many among China's cultural elite as responsible for failings in Tang civilization. With the collapse of the government and the economy, officials viewed Buddhism as a luxury China could no longer afford and enacted policies to prevent Buddhists from access to precious resources. Temples and monasteries were closed, temple lands confiscated, clergy forced to return to "productive" labor (i.e., lay life), and temple resources, bronze images and so on converted into government currency. While the crisis reached its culmination with the fall of the Tang, the seeds were sown in the deterioration of central authority following the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 in the middle of the eighth century.[2] The tenth century, the period of the so-called Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, merely actualized the deterioration of an institutional structure that had been weakened for some time.[3] In the midst of the crisis, which had devastating effects throughout China, but principally in the North, the stability and economic prosperity that certain southern kingdoms afforded

during the tenth century inspired a revival of culture and civilization. Among the southern kingdoms, Wuyue was noted for high standards of learning, wealth, and cultural development.[4] The guiding force behind Wuyue cultural development was the revival of Buddhism.[5]

Yanshou, as a leading figure in Wuyue Buddhism, embodied the revival through his position as abbot at leading Wuyue Buddhist institutions and articulated the vision of Wuyue Buddhism through his extensive writings. As part of a Buddhist revival, Yanshou hoped to reconstruct the Chinese Buddhist tradition according to a new formula—one indebted to the legacy of the past but built around a new all-encompassing conceptual framework based on the notion of *zong*. As the linchpin of Yanshou's new system for Buddhism, *zong* held important implications for Yanshou's idea of Chan, as discussed in the previous chapter. For Yanshou Chan embodied the notion of *zong* as the all-encompassing truth implicit throughout Buddhist teaching. Yanshou's Chan stood in stark contrast to other Chan adherents who proposed that the Chan *zong* stood in fundamental opposition to doctrinal teaching. In this chapter, I review Yanshou's position regarding Chan's relation to *zong*, focusing on his treatment of Chan sources in fascicle 1 of the *Zongjing lu*.

Chan *Zong* and the Scriptures: The Implicit Truth Beyond Implicit Truth

The initial question posed in the *Zongjing lu*, by an unidentified questioner referred to as "a former virtuous one," undermines Yanshou's aim of establishing implicit truth (*zong*) and determining correct Buddhist teaching. The questioner claims that such endeavor is futile, "like looking for hair on a tortoise and searching for horns on a hare." He goes on to quote verses from the *Lankavatāra sūtra* ("all dharmas are unborn; do not establish *zong*") to demonstrate how Yanshou's aim is actually contrary to Buddhist teaching.[6] In early Chan chronicles Gunabhadra (394–468), translator of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, assumed a leading role in establishing Chan in China. In the *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the Masters and Disciples of Lankavatāra), a work that specifically connected the early Chan movement with the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, Gunabhadra was even honored as the first Chan patriarch in China.[7] The question raises the issue of Yanshou's allegiance to Chan teaching, even for those inclined to view Chan as having a basis in Buddhist scriptures.

Yanshou's response begins with an unacknowledged citation from the commentary of Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839) on the *Huayan jing*, the *Da fangguang fo Huayan jing shu* 大放光佛華嚴經疏, which explains the same lines

from the *Lankavatāra sūtra* as follows: "Statements like these are for getting rid of obstacles. If they refer to 'the implicit truth (*zong*) which is beyond implicit truth' (*wuzong* 無宗), implicit truth (*zong*) and the explanation of it (*shuo* 說) are both needed."[8] Yanshou goes on to explain that the Buddhas of the past all provided expedient means for revealing *zong*, inferring the canon of Buddhist teachings, and that the Chan "school" (*chanzong* 禪宗) provides a line of access to the truth (*dao*) as well, inferring that this, too, is but a species of expedient means. Yanshou's point is the age-old Buddhist message that expedient means are necessary for explaining Buddhist teaching but one should not mistake the means for the teaching itself. At the outset, teachings are necessary to communicate the Buddhist message. The formulations of the teachings themselves, however, are not the real teaching. "Even though there is one [true] liberation and one [true] awakening," says Yanshou, "[teachings] are all nothing more than accounts [*shi*] far removed [from the actual experience]."[9] In a restatement of his methodology (see chapter 2), Yanshou relates his aim to summarize the words and teachings of the patriarchs and Buddhas in the *Zongjing lu* for contemporary students. Yanshou "establishes mind [*xin* 心] as the implicit truth [*zong*]" in reference to places in Buddhist scriptures and commentaries that speak of "seeing the mind-nature [*xinxing* 心性] and initiating illumination [*faming* 發明]."[10] In other words, Yanshou admits to establishing mind (*xin*) as the implicit truth (*zong*) as a pretext for highlighting those words and teachings of the patriarchs and Buddhas that lead contemporary students toward illumination and seeing their true natures.

The *Zong* Teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha and Bodhidharma

Yanshou then proceeds to illustrate how this principle, "mind as truth (*zong*)," is apparent in both the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha and Bodhidharma. He cites well-known lines from Zongmi attributed to Śākyamuni: "The mind which Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*]; 'gatelessness' [*wumen* 無門] is the dharma-gate," and lines attributed to Bodhidharma: "On the basis of mind transmit mind [*yixin chuanxin* 以心傳心]; do not establish words and letters [*buli wenzi* 不立文字]."[11] In this way, Yanshou connects "mind teaching" with both the founder of Buddhism in India and the first Chan patriarch in China. The implied message is that the teachings derived from the Buddha, Buddhist scriptures, and the doctrinal schools based on them are congruent with the teachings of Bodhidharma and the Chan lineage. The line from Śākyamuni is attributed to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*,[12] a work important in early Chan attempts to claim legitimacy for the Chan movement, as mentioned above. It is especially

significant in this context, since the questioner had quoted from the *Lankavatāra* to show the opposite, that establishing *zong* was not possible according to Buddhist teaching. The same line is also cited in sermons attributed to Mazu Daoyi, as we shall see shortly.[13] Mazu's usage has important implications regarding what Yanshou perceives as the common message of Chan factions. The main point here, however, is that the *zong* of Chan lineages and the *zong* of doctrinal Buddhist schools are one and the same. Even the method of transmission, according to Yanshou, is similar. The Buddhas, says Yanshou, hand the message of Buddhist teaching down from one Buddha to the next. The patriarchs transmit mind in the same way, from one patriarch to the next.[14]

The Buddhas and patriarchs, claims Yanshou, established *zong*'s message (*zongzhi* 宗旨); the sages and worthies established *zong*'s essence (*zongti* 宗體).[15] This is a surprising statement. A distinction is being made here between the Buddhas and patriarchs on the one hand and the sages and worthies of various Buddhist schools on the other. The surprising thing is that priority seems to be given to the sages and worthies, who establish the *essence* of *zong*, over the Buddhas and patriarchs, who establish *zong*'s message. As the translation of the terms imply, the essence (*ti*) refers to fundamental principles, while the message (*zhi*) refers to the communication or conveying of these principles. The Buddhas and patriarchs are responsible for the latter, according to Yanshou, in the fashion mentioned above. The question is who, then, are the sages and worthies that have established *zong*'s fundamental principles, or essence (*ti*), if not the Buddhas and patriarchs?

The *Zong* Teaching of Sages and Worthies

According to Yanshou, Dushun 杜順 (557–640), regarded as the founder of the Huayan school, relied on the *Huayan jing* (*Avatāmsaka sūtra*) to:

> Establish the pure, perfectly luminous essence of self-nature. This is the essence of the dharma-nature within the womb of the tathāgata. From the very beginning, [self-] nature is of itself complete and sufficient. Incidental stains do not blemish it; practices to remove stains do not purify it. Thus it is referred to as "the purity of self-nature." The essence of [self-]nature [*xingti* 性體] shines everywhere. There is no darkness that it does not expose. Thus it is referred to as "perfect illumination."
>
> When it follows the flow [of existence] it remains unblemished even though it appears to be stained. When it goes against the flow, it is

not purified even though it eliminates stains. Moreover, it cannot be enhanced even when it constitutes the essence of sagehood; nor is it diminished when placed in the body of a common person. Even though a distinction exists between what is hidden and what is revealed, it admits of no differences which would allow discrimination. When illusions cover it, it is hidden. When wisdom clarifies it, it is revealed. It is not something produced by causes; it is simply clarified through realization [*liaoyin*].[16]

In this way, Yanshou provides a special status for Huayan teaching as revealing the essence of *zong*, "the pure and perfectly luminous essence of one's self-nature" and "the essence of the dharma-nature found within the womb of the Tathāgata."[17] Complete and sufficient itself, self-nature is not subject to imperfection. Practices aimed to purify it likewise have no effect on it. It is the perfectly pure self-nature. Because it shines forth everywhere, revealing everything, it is referred to as perfect illumination (*yuanming* 圓明). It is not something caused or produced, and can be understood through knowing the way things are produced through causes.[18] According to Yanshou, "This is the natural mind-essence existing in all sentient beings. . . . It is not just the *zong* of Huayan, but the essence of all Buddhist teaching."[19] In this way, Yanshou emphasizes the special status of Huayan in illuminating the *zong* of Buddhist teaching, and its place in articulating the essential theory that is at the heart of Buddhism.

Yanshou then proceeds to cite Bodhiruci's translation of Vasubhandu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmika sūtra* (*Shidijing lun* 十地經論; Treatise on the Sūtra of the Ten Stages) to establish the universal, all-pervading essence of the pure dharma-realm.[20] What is interesting about the passage cited is the way it parallels certain positions associated with the Hongzhou faction, a leading Chan lineage since it was instituted by Mazu Daoyi (d. 788), and through its attachment to the Linji faction, the main rival of Yanshou in the attempt to establish orthodox Chan teaching. In language reminiscent of the Chan teaching on mind of Huangbo Xiyun 黄檗希運 (d. 850) in the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials for Transmitting the Mind-Dharma), Vasubhandu's commentary claims that the dharma-realm is the true self-essence of all tathāgatas, is without beginning, is pure in its intrinsic nature, is not born and will not perish, pervades [the realms of] all living beings like empty space, neither exists nor is nonexistent, and is separate from all external forms, all distinctions, and all names and words.[21]

The pure dharma-realm is the true intrinsic essence of all tathāgatas. It is without beginning. Its intrinsic nature is pure. It is fully

> endowed with infinitely numerous meritorious virtues deriving from nature and form existing throughout every type of world in the ten directions. It is not born and will not perish. Like empty space, it pervades [the reality of] all living beings and exists equally among all of them. It is neither the same as nor different from all the phenomena [it exists among]. It neither exists nor is it nonexistent. It is separate from all external forms, all distinctions, and all names and words. One is unable to obtain it in anything. It is realized only through pure sagely wisdom. The two kinds of emptiness deny a [permanent] self or [permanent] objects and reveal true suchness as their self-nature. This is what sages partially realize and what Buddhas fully realize.[22]

According to Yanshou, the pure all-encompassing dharma-realm described in the *Daśabhūmika sūtra Treatise* is the wondrous mind of true suchness, and is as such connected to his conception of *zong* as universal mind, the fundamental principle of all Buddhist teaching. While there are all manner of variations in terminology for establishing *zong* in Buddhism, none are separable from this essence.[23]

> Some say *zong* is something to hold in high regard, and consider mind as *zong*. As a result, they claim that only we alone [of all that exists between] the heavens above and the earth below regard it highly. Some say the essence is nature, and consider mind as the essence. As a result, they claim to know that all phenomena are the mind's self-nature. Some call it wisdom, and regard mind as wisdom, as the function of the tranquil illumination of original nature. As a result, they refer to it as self-awakening, sagely wisdom, universal light, illuminating wisdom, and so on. Explained in terms of the activity and variation [of all phenomena], essence (*ti*) and *zong* are dynamic and distinct [from each other]. Understood in terms of the common destiny and inherent equality [of all phenomena], the universal Way [*yidao*] is without differences.[24]

After citing Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Huayan yanyi chao* 華嚴演義鈔, in support of his position,[25] Yanshou then turns his attention from the theory of *zong* to its practice. Yanshou explains this through the commentary of the Tiantai 天台master Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) on the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, the *Dapan niepan jing xuanyi* 大盤涅槃經玄義 (The Mysterious Meaning of the Great Nirvāṇa Sūtra).[26] Explaining the "*zong* implicit (*zongben* 宗本) to nirvāṇa," Guanding states that in all practices, without exception, one

regards the great mind of nirvāṇa as implicit (*ben*). When what is implicit is established, the Way (i.e., Buddhism) thrives. Without outlines of Buddhist teaching, what is implicit cannot be established. Because mind is implicit, *zong* can be established.[27] In other words, the "*zong* implicit to nirvāṇa" is "the great mind of nirvāṇa." To perfect the mind is to realize nirvāṇa. In this way, a link is established between mind as theory and mind as fundamental to practice. There is a strong tendency in Yanshou's writings to rely on Tiantai teaching concerning matters of Buddhist practice, a tendency also exhibited here.[28] Yanshou's insistence on the importance of Buddhist practice, conventionally conceived, is a distinct feature of his Chan, and one that separates him further from the rhetoric of his Hongzhou and Linji faction rivals.

The Sages of Words and Letters

The second question posed in the introductory section in the *Zongjing lu* on establishing the *zong*, or implicit truth, of Buddhism, challenges Yanshou's literary approach as contrary to the message of the patriarchs.

> If you want to clarify the implicit truth of Buddhism [*zong*], you should simply promote the message of the patriarchs, nothing more. What use is there in combining it with citations from the oral teachings [*yanjiao*] of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and take them as a guide? The reason why members of Chan lineages [*zongmen* 宗門] claim "By availing oneself of the eyes of a snake, one will not distinguish things for oneself" is that one only becomes a sage of words and letters [*wenzi*] [by following the scriptures], but does not enter the ranks of the patriarchs.[29]

The challenge launched here questions Yanshou's whole enterprise in the *Zongjing lu*, condemning it as producing only "sages of words and letters" (*wenzi shengren* 文字聖人) who do not approach the ranks of Chan patriarchs. In the view of critics, Yanshou's methodology violates cardinal principles of Chan summarized in the well-known slogans "Do not establish words and letters" (*buli wenzi*) and "A special transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*). These slogans were especially prominent in Hongzhou Chan circles and became a defining feature of the Linji lineage in the early Song.[30] Given the strength of these views in Chan circles, opposition to Yanshou's view of Chan as compatible with recorded "words and letters" teachings is not surprising. The more radical style of Chan derived from Mazu and his disciples was responsible for producing different styles of literature, *denglu* ("transmission

records") and *yulu* ("recorded sayings"), focusing on the words and activities of Chan patriarchs to the general exclusion of the "words and letters" teachings of the Buddhist scriptural tradition and its commentaries. With the upheavals accompanying the fall of the Tang and the rising importance of Chan in Chinese Buddhism, Chan monks increasingly consolidated their identity around collections of records manifested in *denglu* and *yulu* formats.

Yanshou responds to this challenge by asserting the authority of the Buddha's teaching and the role of Buddhist writings for direct realization of Buddha-mind (i.e., enlightenment).

> The above claim is not intended to prohibit reading the scriptures [*jiao*]. I worry that people will not know well the words of the Buddha [*foyu* 佛語]. People develop understanding through texts. When people forget about the Buddha's message, one safeguards the minds of beginners on the basis of [texts]. Whoever understands the teaching through the corpus of Buddhist writings will not create a mind and realm of objects in opposition to each other, but will directly realize Buddha-mind. What error is there in this?[31]

Rather than the words of the patriarchs (*yulu*), Yanshou is concerned with the words of the Buddha (*foyu*). Enlightenment, the "Buddha-mind," and the realization of the principle of nonduality, "mind and the realm of objects not in opposition to each other," are achievable through the study of Buddhist writings, the "words and letters" of Buddhist teaching.

Yanshou then refers to a conversation between a student and the Chan master Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟偃 (745–828).[32] Yaoshan was one of the most prominent disciples of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790), who along with Mazu Daoyi represents one of two lines through which Chan lineages thrived beyond the Tang dynasty. According to Yanshou, Yaoshan was a devoted reader of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Da niepan jing* 大涅槃經) throughout his life. A student questioned Yaoshan's propensity for reading scriptures, especially since he reportedly did not permit his students to do so. In response, Yaoshan proclaims to the student that if he reads them, he will "pierce the ox's hide, just like the first patriarch in India."[33] According to Yanshou, this is a reference to how Śākyamuni first began the transmission to Mahākaśyāpa, and how the transmission, in succession from patriarch to patriarch down to the sixth patriarch in China, originated. When one "pierces the ox's hide," in other words, achieves enlightenment in the Chan tradition, one enters the ranks of these patriarchs. Yanshou encourages students in their practice to follow the Buddha's teachings.

> All [the patriarchs] are descendants of the Buddha. I now cite the words of the original teacher [Śākyamuni] to train and instruct disciples, encouraging their practice [*dao*] by having them follow his statements; to know the implicit truth [*zong*] through reading the Dharma, and not rush around searching for it elsewhere; to personally realize the Buddha's intention. After they understand the message, they at once enter the ranks of the patriarchs. . . .[34]

One of the interesting things here is the way Yanshou disputes the tendency, later confirmed in *gong'an* collections but presumably already a practice in Yanshou's day, of achieving awakening ("piercing the ox's hide") by penetrating the meaning of the words and deeds of Chan patriarchs. For Yanshou, drawing on the example of Yaoshan Weiyan, this awakening is only achieved through reading the scriptures and becoming intimately familiar with the teachings of the Buddha. This is how one "enters the ranks of the patriarchs," not through following the antics of Chan patriarchal teachings. It is also interesting to note how Yanshou charges that if one realizes the implicit truth (*zong*) through reading the scriptures, one will not have to waste one's effort looking for it elsewhere. This is opposite to the claim made in Hongzhou and Linji Chan rhetoric, which charges that Chan patriarchs hold the key to awakening and that reading the scriptures amounts to a waste of effort.

Furthermore, Yanshou argues, there is no point ranking one type of enlightenment over another type or one patriarch over another. The point is that all have validly attained perfect understanding through their knowledge of the scriptures.

> In the case of the twenty-eight patriarchs of former ages in India, the six patriarchs in this land, as well as Great Master Mazu of Hongzhou, and National Preceptor [Hui]zhong 慧忠 of Nanyang 南陽, Chan master Dayi 大義 of Ehu 餓湖, Chan master Benjing 本淨 of Mt. Sikong 思空, and so on, all of them perfectly awakened to their own minds through thorough knowledge of the scriptures and treatises.[35]

Yanshou's criterion for achieving enlightenment, for joining the ranks of the patriarchs, is rendered here clearly: "all of them perfectly awakened to their own minds through thorough knowledge of the scriptures and treatises." This is markedly different from the criterion set forth by Hongzhou and Linji lineage masters, as mentioned above, and it is interesting to note how Yanshou includes Mazu Daoyi and his disciples as embodiments of this criterion. Yanshou's criterion regarding knowledge of the scriptures and treatises, moreover, establishes

a uniform standard that is both inclusive and nondivisive. The claim that all the designated Chan patriarchs through the sixth patriarch and all of the subsequent great masters of the Chan tradition equally attained enlightenment, subtly undermines the attempts of Chan lineages to proclaim their superiority over others as the true or orthodox transmission.

Orthodox transmission became a contentious issue in Chan in the battle to determine the sixth patriarch, as is well known. Disciples of different masters, most notably followers of Shenxiu and Huineng, claimed the patriarchy for their own masters and, as heirs of their master's teaching, for themselves. Huineng's rank as the sixth patriarch was too well established in Chan circles at this point for Yanshou to challenge his place. Nowhere is Shenxiu's name mentioned, but the recent discovery of documents recording Shenxiu's teachings among the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts reveals general similarity between Yanshou and Shenxiu's teachings (treated below). In addition, while Shenxiu's name is not mentioned by Yanshou, it is noteworthy that Huineng's illustrious disciple Shenhui is not mentioned here either, in spite of the fact that the names of other disciples of the sixth patriarch, Sikong Benjing, 思空本淨 (667–761) and Nanyang Huizhong (d. 775), are mentioned.

According to accounts of Benjing's life,[36] after receiving verification of enlightenment from Huineng, Benjing took up residence at Wuxiang 無相 (Formless) Monastery on Mt. Sikong. In 744, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–55) dispatched an emissary, Yang Guangting 揚光庭, to pick vegetables on Mt. Sikong. While there, he paid a visit to Benjing. In the course of their conversation, Benjing instructed Yang that "mind is Buddha; no-mind is the Way." When Yang Guangting reported this to the emperor, Xuanzong was impressed, and summoned Benjing to take up residence in the capital, at Bailian 白連 (White Lotus) Monastery. Benjing is said to have distinguished himself in debates with leading Buddhist scholars and was awarded a posthumous title, "Great Enlightened Chan Master" (Daxiao Chanshi 大曉禪師).

Huizhong received even higher honors from the imperial court. According to the accounts of his life,[37] Huizhong dwelled for over forty years in the Dangzi 黨子 valley of Mt. Baiya 白崖 in Nanyang 南陽 (Henan 河南). In 761, Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–764) learned of his reputation, and dispatched an emissary, Sun Chaojin 孫朝進, to summon Huizhong to the capital. He was first ensconced at the Xichan 西禪 (Western Chan) Cloister of Qianfu 千福 (Thousand Blessings) Monastery, but was moved to Guangzhai 光宅 (Bright Dwelling) Monastery after Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 765–779) assumed the throne. With personal connections to two emperors, Huizhong assumed a leading role at the Tang court and was among the leading Buddhists of his day, honored as National Preceptor (*guoshi* 國師), a title of great distinction awarded

to a select few. Huizhong is also significant for his critical approach to Chan practitioners in the south who disdained reading scriptures, and interpreted the maxim "mind is Buddha" in what amounts to a kind of naturalistic fallacy in Buddhist teaching.[38] Both Benjing and Huizhong were nationally recognized Chan masters who emphasized the study of scripture as the proper approach to Chan. It is not surprising, given Yanshou's orientation, that he would find support for his own style of Chan in the teachings of masters like Benjing and Huizhong. This is especially true given that Yanshou is concerned with reviving Buddhism, acknowledging that official support is necessary for the success of any attempt to do so. It is more surprising that Yanshou also mentions the names of Mazu Daoyi, and Mazu's disciple Ehu Dayi. Mazu is, of course, the alleged initiator of the more radically inclined Hongzhou Chan, mentioned above.[39] As such, Mazu and his followers represented rivals and adversaries of the kind of Chan syncretism that Yanshou promoted. It seems odd to find the names of Mazu and Dayi singled out as legitimate, much less honored, descendants of the Chan lineage after the sixth patriarch. In fact, it is not odd, for two reasons, suggested above. In the first place, Yanshou has already stipulated, in principle, that all Chan descendants are equally worthy of honor, that it is not possible to impose artificial distinctions to rank them. In the second place, Yanshou asserts that all Chan descendants, including Mazu and Dayi, have attained awakening "through knowledge of the scriptures and treatises." Using this criterion, Yanshou appropriates Mazu and Dayi as fitting representatives of the Chan scholasticism he promotes.

Whenever these Chan masters (Mazu, Dayi, Benjing, Huizhong, and so on) preached to their followers, contends Yanshou, they always did so with reference to actually documented scriptural sources. They considered the words of the Buddha the true measure of Buddhist teaching, using it as their guide. In this way, the truth remains consistent through the passage of time and the vicissitudes of change.[40]

Specifically, Yanshou follows the Tang Chan syncretic thinker Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), whom he cites in the *Zongjing lu* as follows:

> It means that the first patriarch of the various schools was Śākyamuni. Scriptures are the word of the Buddha [*foyu*]; Chan is the thought of the Buddha [*foyi* 佛意]. There is no difference whatsoever between what the Buddha [thought] with his mind and [uttered] with his mouth. What the patriarchs receive from each other is fundamentally what the Buddha personally bequeathed to them. When bodhisattvas composed treatises, from first to last they simply expanded on the Buddha's scriptures. How can it be otherwise since

> the patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta, in addition to expanding Chan transmission, were also tripitaka masters?[41] In addition, Aśvagosa and Nāgārjuna both were Chan patriarchs. They wrote treatises explaining the scriptures, amounting to thousands upon ten thousands of verses. They spread the teaching in accordance with actual circumstances, free of any restriction.[42]

As a result, understanding the teaching according to Yanshou is requisite to ultimate realization. If one is not made to understand the perfect teaching (*yuanjiao* 圓教) of the One Vehicle, even if one realizes sagehood (*shengguo* 聖果), it is still not ultimate realization. The teaching is thus regarded as a "good friend," needed for understanding the words of the Buddha, to form an impression of them on one's own mind.[43] Yanshou then proceeds to affirm this principle by citing from the teachings of the four Chan masters mentioned specifically as examples following the sixth patriarch: Mazu, Huizhong, Dayi, and Benjing. Thus, while Yanshou here and elsewhere purposely pursues Zongmi's lead, especially in distinguishing the relationship between *zong* and *jiao*, there are conspicuous differences between them as well. Zongmi's view of Chan was predicated on verifying Shenhui's teaching as the true interpretation of Huineng's teaching. Yanshou is not driven by such divisions, and sees the entire Chan school in all its manifestations as a single faction based on the principle of *zong*. In a word, for Zongmi the Chan *zong* is divisive; for Yanshou it is a tool for reconciliation.[44]

In order to affirm that Mazu and Hongzhou Chan concurs with Yanshou's understanding of Chan described here, Yanshou cites Mazu:

> The great master Mazu of Hongzhou said:
>
> When the great master Bodhidharma came from southern India, he transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind [*yixin*] exclusively. He impressed the *Lankavatāra sūtra* on the minds of sentient beings, fearing that they would not believe this teaching on universal mind. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth (*zong*); 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate."[45]

This affirms, in Yanshou's eyes, Mazu's commitment to the mind teaching of Bodhidharma, who "exclusively transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind," based in the Buddha's mind teaching of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*.[46] Given Yanshou's own understanding that the Buddha's mind teaching

and Bodhidharma's concur, this amounts to an affirmation of Yanshou's view of Chan.[47] It is this premise Yanshou sets out to demonstrate here in the opening fascicle of the *Zongjing lu*. All Chan masters, regardless of lineal affiliation, ultimately base their teachings on the words of the Buddha and the scriptures and commentaries designed to illustrate their meaning. The "words and letters" of the Buddhist tradition are the necessary framework within which Chan was originally conceived and continue to be necessary for correctly understanding it. The words of the Buddha remain the "true measure" of Chan teaching.

According to Yanshou, Huizhong directly affirmed that Chan teachings must be in accord with Buddhist scriptural teachings.

> National Preceptor Nanyang [Hui]zhong said:
>
> Chan school teaching [*chanzong fa*] must follow the words of the Buddha [*foyu*], the perfect meaning [*liaoyi* 了義] of the one-vehicle, and tacitly conform to the original mind-ground [*benyuan xindi* 本原心地]. What [members of the Chan school] transmit, in turn, to each other is the same as what the Buddha taught [*fodao* 佛道]. It is not obtained by relying on presumptuous attitudes [*wangqing*]. Moreover, when [members of the Chan school] do not understand [Chan through] doctrinal teachings [*yijiao* 義教], they form views and opinions about it haphazardly. In their uncertainty they lead future students astray and deprive them of the advantages [the teaching offers]. If only they would trust a [true] master's skill, they would be guided to the principle of implicit truth [*zongzhi* 宗旨]. If they, through [training with a master], understand the correspondence between [Chan] and doctrinal teaching, they should rely on practice. Without understanding [the correspondence between Chan and] doctrinal teaching, [a true master] will not allow their succession in the Chan lineage. They will be like insects on the body of a lion.[48]

According to Yanshou, when Chan master Dayi was summoned to court, he questioned the great masters and virtuous ones of the capital, citing from the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* to demonstrate how their explanations differed from scriptural teaching.[49] Yanshou maintained that masters like Dayi used various methods to teach students, in some cases "pointing directly to the enlightened mind" and in some cases "dispelling firmly held attachments with unsurpassed eloquence."[50]

Yanshou maintains that Benjing followed a similar strategy in his dealings with learned virtuous ones in the capital, citing from three scriptures: the *Scripture*

on Perfect Enlightenment (*Yuanjue jing*), the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, as well as the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*. According to Yanshou, Benjing used these sources to elaborate principles inherent in his teaching on mind.

> You must not grasp mind. This mind exists completely because of what appears to the senses. Like images in a mirror, there is no essence that can be obtained. If you grasp them as really existing, you are mistaken about their root origin and constantly deny their [true] inherent nature.[51]

Yanshou refers to one other Chan master here in the context of relying on the scriptures to determine the correct interpretation of Buddhism and proper understanding of Chan. Given the way the Chan tradition is arranged in known documents, Yanshou's reference here to an otherwise unknown Chan master comes as a surprise. According to Yanshou, the great master Zhuangyan 莊嚴 (dates unknown), was a descendent of the fifth patriarch, Hongren 弘忍 (601–74). Nowhere is Zhuangyan's name found among the list of Hongren's known students. The *Lengqie renfa zhi* 楞伽人法志, quoted in the *Lengqie shizi ji*, provides the most complete list of Hongren's disciples.[52] Zhuangyan's name is nowhere among them. Regardless, Yanshou's inclusion of Zhuangyan in his discussion shows that Chan influences were much broader than normally conceived.

There is no doubt about the appropriateness of reference to Zhuangyan in this context. According to Yanshou, students objected to Zhuangyan's instruction that they should simply follow the message of certain verses recorded in the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*, saying: "These are the words of the Buddha. We want access to the master's [teachings in his] own words." In response, Zhuangyan replied:

> The Buddha's words [*foyu*] are my words. My words are the Buddha's words. The reason why the first patriarch came from the West was to establish and implement Chan teaching [*chandao*]. In his desire to transmit the mind-seal [*xinyin*], he provisionally made use of Buddhist scriptures. He used the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to verify and clarify [his message]. He knew the scriptural sources [*jiaomen* 教門] from which his own message derived. Subsequently, he got non-Buddhists to stop slandering Chan, and students of Buddhism to accept Chan. The patriarchs inherited [his message] and Chan flourished greatly; his sublime style was widely accepted.[53]

These words summarize well the message Yanshou himself wishes to convey. The words of the Buddha and the words of Chan masters impart the same

message. There is no need to emphasize one and deny the other. Bodhidharma himself established this principle when he initiated Chan teaching in China. Chan patriarchs in China followed this principle that he established. Chan success in China is predicated on the principle of concurrence between Chan and Buddhist scriptural teaching.

Zhuangyan's concern, according to Yanshou, is that students initiating their study of Chan do not haphazardly deny the validity of the correct implicit truth (*zhengzong*) contained in the Buddha's teaching, and impede the cultivation and practice necessary for progress. Zhuangyan warns against bad teachers that council students to ignore the scriptures. "Without [Buddhist] teaching [*jiao*]," Zhuangyan claims, "the principles [of Chan] [*li*] are incomplete."[54]

Instructing Students

For Yanshou, there is no doubt that *all* true Chan masters rely on the scriptures. The *zong* of the *Zongjing lu* refers to the textual record of Buddhist sources as well as the truth conveyed in them. It is on the basis of these written sources that masters instruct students. According to Yanshou, the term *zong* itself calls to mind this truth.

> Those of superior capacities and keen wisdom have produced knowledge from previous training. Even by just looking at the first word of the title [of this record], "*Zong*," they are completely immersed in the sea of Buddha-wisdom, forever severing the slightest of doubts, and suddenly understanding the great purpose [of Buddhist teaching]. In other words, there is nothing that this single word does not encompass. After one apprehends this, there is nothing else besides it. If one reads [this record] straight to the end, to the one-hundredth fascicle, one will comprehend the implications [of this term], as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and the treasure storehouse [of scriptures] [*baozang* 寶藏] [kept] in the Dragon Palace, and the golden texts [preached by the Buddha] on Vulture Peak.[55]

According to Yanshou, many are confused by *zong* and the way it is revealed in written sources. Such people fail to appreciate that the different paths to *zong* are not meant to be understood as discrete and independent, but as manifestations of universal mind. By failing to distinguish *zong* from the methods that reveal it, they are driven to further confusion and ultimately deny the very sources of *zong* itself.

> In other words, the distinctive explanations [contained in the scriptures] do not amount to different paths. When you divulge it [i.e., the teaching of *zong*], it covers the entire dharma-realm. As further elaborations of what was formerly delineated, it is simply universal mind [*yixin*]. When the root is unfurled and the branches divulged, everything is included in the same reality. In the final analysis, there are no inappropriate doctrines [in Buddhism] that block one from access to the implicit truth [*zong*]. They all refer to [the state of] emotional confusion that recklessly leads to [feelings of] attachment or renunciation. When one only sees black words and letters on a page, one often closes the book in disgust. Obsessed with tranquility and non-oral [*wuyan*] 無言 [communication], they delight in paring the teaching down to its essentials. They thoroughly confuse their minds by acquiescing in the realm of objects. They turn their backs on awakening and are captivated by the dusty impurities [of the world]. They do not seek out the implicit origin of activity and silence. They do not try to comprehend the state where [the distinction between] the one and the many arises.[56]

The attempt to isolate certain teachings as "true" while denying others, to identify one's distinctive approach as the legitimate one and falsify others, according to Yanshou, is the product of a confused and deranged propagandist. Yanshou decries those students with limited views, fearful of learning, as similar to students of the lesser vehicle who are apprehensive about the teaching of emptiness.

> Stubborn students with limited views are simply frightened when they learn too much. They are like students of the lesser vehicle being apprehensive [when hearing] about the emptiness of phenomena. They are like Mara becoming distressed [when hearing] about the various good deeds. Because they do not understand the real true nature of phenomena, they are absorbed by the various transformations phenomenal forms go through and fall into the trap of [regarding them as] existent or nonexistent.[57]

It seems clear here that Yanshou's criticism is aimed at those who deny Buddhist textual sources, claiming them as impediments to true awakening. Such a denial is tantamount to a denial of *zong* itself, as Yanshou has defined it. The denial of *zong*, the heart of Yanshou's conception of Chan, amounts to a renunciation of Chan. This clearly suggests the distance between Yanshou's conception of Chan and that contained in the Chan "transmission

records" (*denglu*). In the "transmission records," *zong* refers primarily to lineage transmission, the passing of Chan truth from master to student. This transmission is from mind to mind (*yixin chuanxin*), "a special transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biechuan*). As the slogan that represents this conception indicates, *zong* is not a reference to the truth transmitted through textual means but precisely its opposite, the truth transmitted between minds, independent of texts (in the sense of traditional Buddhist scriptures). For Yanshou, as with his predecessor Zongmi, textual and nontextual transmissions are but two species of the same phenomenon, the public and private dissemination of the same truth. Moreover, both forms of transmission are complementary to each other, and cannot be conceived of independently. Chan thus represents a special transmission dependent on, rather than independent of, the scriptures. In an analogy that likens Chan and Buddhist teaching to the dual pillars of Buddhist realization, meditation and wisdom, Yanshou asserts that "when the patriarchs [of Chan] and the teachings [of Buddhist schools] are presented together, meditation and wisdom shine forth as a pair." Moreover, "whenever one grasps onto views tenaciously and does not trust in the words of the Buddha," claims Yanshou, "one gives rise to a mind that hinders itself and eliminates the possibility of learning from other paths."[58]

According to Yanshou, nothing can be denied, as everything is a manifestation of universal mind, included in the dharma-realm, a revelation of *zong*. Yanshou thus agrees with the principle that the seemingly impure is actually *zong* itself, but so is Buddhist teaching that reveals the ways of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the heroic practitioners praised in the scriptures. Commenting on a passage from the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription on Believing Mind), attributed to third patriarch, Sengcan 僧璨, Yanshou asserts:

> . . . [the impurities of] the six senses are all the real implicit truth [*zhenzong* 真宗]. Of the myriad phenomena there are none that are not wondrous principle [*miaoli*]. Why be confined by restricting views and be confused about the important message [of Buddhist teaching]? How will they know about the great realms of the Buddhas, or the methods that bodhisattvas actively employ?[59]

What Yanshou is most concerned about is that Chan remain faithful to the Buddhist teaching of the middle way, avoiding extreme explanations that proclaim one thing while denying others, inadvertently falling prey to biased views.

> Views are conceived only through emotions. Thoughts change simply in response to external objects. Some speak of existence without even

> mentioning [the subject of] emptiness. Some talk of emptiness without even touching on [the subject of] existence. Some discuss things in brief, creating unity out of external plurality. Some establish the broader view, creating external plurality out of unity. Some grasp words as if [words] were separate from silence. Some seek silence as if [silence] was separate from words. Some isolate principle [*li*] from phenomena [*shi*]. Some isolate phenomena from principle. [People such as these] will never ever be able to awaken to this perfect teaching regarding spontaneous freedom [*zizai yuanzong* 自在圓宗]. . . .
>
> The infinite, wondrous message here is referred to as a single teaching, yet it varies according to circumstances. The school of the perfect nature [*yuanman xingzong* 圓滿性宗] promotes the single method [of Vairocāna], yet accommodates the methods of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.[60] It is neither pure nor tainted; neither a unity nor a plurality. It is like the five flavors combined in a stew,[61] cloths of various types forming an embroidered garment, collected valuables constituting a treasure, and the hundred types of medicine forming cinnabar.[62]

The source-mirror (*zongjing*) is thus the repository of all the myriad phenomena. It is simultaneously passive and inclusive, absorbing all in harmonious equanimity, and active and obtrusive, providing for the existence of things as discreet entities. It is on the basis of this that words, too, are condoned. As phenomena, they are ultimately reflections of the source-mirror, subject to the same criteria as other objects reflected in it. They both exist and do not exist, and they become individualized as discreet forms rooted in the unifying essence of the source from which they derive.

> As soon as one enters this implicit truth [*zong*] on the basis of such wondrous discernment, phenomenal things are secretly united to what is true and words are tacitly joined to the message [of Buddhist teaching]. If one has not yet reflected on this personally and not instigated the opportunity for perfect [understanding], whatever one says will forsake the implicit truth [*zong*], and when one is engaged in silent [meditation], one will also end up confused.[63]

To present a framework for correct understanding, a kind of litmus test for correct Chan practice that is in accord with Buddhist teachings and principles, Yanshou presents ten questions. Affirmative responses to the following indicate that one's Chan practice is faithful to Buddhism.

1. Do you thoroughly understand seeing [one's] nature [*jianxing* 見性], as if delineating and contemplating phenomenal forms similar to someone like Mañjuśrī?
2. In everything you do—whether encountering situations or dealing with externals, seeing phenomenal forms or listening to sounds, raising a foot or lowering a foot, opening the eyes or closing the eyes—do you illuminate the implicit truth [*zong*] and comply with Buddhism?
3. Do you read the teachings of each age and the statements of former patriarchs and masters, listening deeply and unafraid, completely understanding the truth in all of their teachings and not doubting it?
4. In response to different [types of] difficult questions and all manner of trivial queries, are you able to provide [answers] according to the four kinds of eloquent responses and completely resolve the doubts that others have?[64]
5. At all times and in all situations, does wisdom shine forth unhindered and does thought after thought pass perfectly, without encountering a single dharma that is able to cause obstruction, or being interrupted for even a single instant?
6. In all the occasions that present themselves to you in the external realm, whether contrary or agreeable, good or bad, do you resist [the desire to] elude them [on the one hand] and are you always conscious of destroying [any attachment to] them [on the other]?
7. Within the realm of the mind and its objects comprised of a series of one hundred dharmas,[65] do you get to see the extremely subtle essence-nature [*tixing*] and the original point of rising of each and every [dharma], without confusing them with the circumstances of birth and death and the organs of sense and their objects?
8. Regarding the four types of behavior—walking, standing, sitting, and lying—do you address others respectfully and exercise restraint when replying? And when wearing clothes and eating food, performing and carrying out [tasks], do you understand the true reality of each and every grade [in rank]?
9. When listening to claims that there are Buddhas or there are no Buddhas, there are sentient beings or there are no sentient beings, do you sometimes applaud them and sometimes refute them, sometimes agree and sometime disagree, with a firm unwavering mind?
10. When you hear about how all the different kinds of wisdom are able to clearly fathom how nature and form complement each other, how *li* and *shi* are unhindered, how nonexistence and existence are one and

> the same phenomena and do not reflect the origin [of phenomena] itself, and how the thousand sages appear in the world, can you avoid doubting it?[66]

These questions reveal the extent to which Yanshou was committed to Chan practice as an elucidation of general Buddhist doctrines and principles. When the principle of "seeing one's nature" is invoked, Mañjuśrī is heralded as the model to guide one. Everything that one does should illumine *zong*, the implicit Chan and Buddhist truth, and be in accord with Buddhist teaching. Rather than eschew written teachings, one should read and comprehend the teachings of each generation of former patriarchs. Rather than cultivating silence as the "expression" of profundity, one should master the rhetorical arts, become adept in eloquent explanations and resolving the doubts of others. One should exhibit spontaneous wisdom, and meld with the realm of objects without becoming attached.

Mastery over the one hundred psychophysical elements of existence as enumerated by the Consciousness-Only (Weishi) school, a rigorous traditional form of Buddhist meditation practice, is espoused. The four types of behavior—walking, standing, sitting, and lying down—code words for licentious behavior in radical, Linji-style Chan rhetoric—are here indicators for caution. In behavior and appearance, respect and restraint are encouraged. Convention is to be followed, tradition upheld.

> Even if you have not actually attained merits like these,[67] you will never conceive the inclination to trespass or deceive, or form ideas of self-indulgence or satisfaction in one's knowledge. Directly avail yourself of the extensive revelations provided by the teaching, and widely inquire into what those before you knew. Penetrate the origin of self-nature [revealed by] patriarchs and Buddhas, arriving at the point of supreme mastery, free of doubt. Only at this time can you stop studying, and put an end to the wandering mind. Sometimes, practice meditation [*chan*] and contemplation [*guan*] in conjunction with each other to discern things for yourself. Sometimes, reveal expedient means for the sake of others. Even if you are not able to practice everywhere throughout the dharma-realm and extensively investigate the collection of scriptures, by just carefully reading the contents of the *[Records of the] Source-Mirror*, you will naturally gain entrance [to the truth]. Here are contained the essentials of the various teachings; they will propel you to the entrance to the Way. As a protective mother recognizes her child, when you obtain the root

> you will know the branches. By the raising of the important points [in Buddhist teachings], the cracks [in one's understanding] are all rectified. By the pulling together of a garb [for Buddhist teaching],[68] the long, fine strands [of the teaching] are all joined. Moreover, it is like using the ligaments of a lion to make strings for a *qin*—the sound of the notes makes the finest performance. All other strings, excepting none, are far inferior. The power of the *[Records of the] Source-Mirror* is also comparable to this. Pick it up and everything dazzles with radiance. Open it and various teachings spout forth the traces [of the truth]. With one phrase from it, you will destroy a thousand [heterodox] pathways. What need is there to painfully traverse a difficult ford, when living apart from it on a high mountain path?[69]

Rather than deny the validity of the Buddhist canon, Yanshou in the *Zongjing lu* proposes to provide an efficacious guide to it. On the basis of study and mental cultivation, wisdom and meditation, practitioners may realize the traditional Buddhist goal of self-mastery. Beneath Yanshou's aim is a questioning of the validity of Buddhism as traditionally conceived, an assumption that Buddhism has become overly complex and unwieldy, inaccessible to all but a privileged elite. The scholastic style of Tang Buddhism, aimed primarily at an aristocratic elite, was of questionable value to the new gentry of the Five Dynasties and early Song. The rising warrior and merchant classes who dominated Yanshou's period were less inclined toward the intricate subtleties of Buddhist scholasticism. The *Zongjing lu* represents a digest of scholastic teaching, presented in a more easily understood format. It preserves the "virtues" of traditional Buddhist study and ritual, accessible in a highly condensed but still effective arrangement. Not only does it champion textual study as a mainline Buddhist practice, it combines a traditional style of mental cultivation, Tiantai contemplation (*guan* 觀)—a shorthand for the well-established Tiantai *zhiguan* 止觀 (cessation and contemplation) practice—with the tradition of Chan-style meditation. As meditation practice per se, nowhere does Yanshou actually suggest how Chan-style meditation is different from traditional styles of mental cultivation. That is not the point. The point is that the Chan tradition is recognized as independent of but complementary to the Tiantai tradition, suggesting yet again how the Chan tradition is regarded by Yanshou within the context of the larger Buddhist tradition and not separate from it. In all of this, *zong* remains the key concept. It provides the structure for embracing the different strands of Buddhist teaching. The *Zongjing lu* is devoted to advancing this aim.

Yanshou concludes his argument for combining Chan and scriptural teaching with an exhortation on the need to follow the scriptures and the benefits derived therein. On the basis of the evidence cited, Yanshou claims that all Chan patriarchs uniformly rely on the scriptures for their teachings. They are "great, good friends, teachers of *zong* who transcend physical limitations."[70] He refers to them metaphorically as unicorns and dragons, ethereal beings with extraordinary powers, who use tortoise shells and mirrors, methods for divining one's real fate and determining actual appearance. Together they imply a standard or framework through which truth is determined, as opposed to relying on conjecture and imagination. In this way, Chan patriarchs "present the universal teaching [*yijiao*] 教, carried by the wind and revealed in the thunder," the implicit truth that is inscribed in nature itself and reveals itself spontaneously in nature's activities.[71]

> In the cases of the limited number of [Chan masters] cited briefly above, all of them are important good friends, masters of the true source of the teaching [*zongshi*] who transcend the limitations of physical objects [*wuwai*]. The unicorns and dragons in the gardens of Chan reveal the universal teaching [*yijiao*] [using] the tortoise shells and mirrors [i.e., the spiritual methods] at the patriarchs' gate, whereby it is carried by the wind and revealed in the thunder.[72] When they impart words of universal truth [*yiyu*], the mountains topple and the seas dry up. When the emperor is on friendly terms with Buddhist masters, the imperial court and the common folk are united in their devotion to Buddhism [*guiming*]. If monasteries adopt [the proper] criteria, future students will inherit [true Buddhist teaching]. They will never indulge their own emotions and treat the words of the Buddha with contempt. For the common people, [Buddhist teaching] has the effect of alleviating doubts and dispelling deceitfulness. It reveals the [mind-]nature and clarifies the implicit truth [*zong*]. All [true Chan masters] without exception, each and every one, refer extensively to the scriptures to reveal the thought of the Buddha in every possible way. Therefore, the transmission of these texts ensures the preservation of Buddhism for posterity; it will not cause the downfall of the Chan style [*jiafeng* 家風]. If this were not the case, how could Buddhism have continued to flourish up to now?[73]

If one is determined to make an effort in Buddhism, says Yanshou, one will study Buddhist scriptures thoroughly. Every Buddhist scripture provides an opportunity to expose the true circumstances of one's existence; the words

uttered in them cause one to secretly unite with true mind (*zhenxin* 真心). In this way, Buddhism continues to provide the blueprint for the model society, according to Yanshou. Embraced by rulers and citizens alike, Buddhism provides the pretext for social harmony. Buddhist scriptures do not subvert Chan-style instruction but undergird it. However, Yanshou also warns that one should not cling to written texts as supreme, creating views based on words alone. One should tacitly unite with the fundamental, implicit truth (*benzong* 本宗) of Buddhist teaching, the message set out in the scriptures, not its literal depiction. The collected writings of Buddhism all discuss this implicit truth, propelling practitioners toward sudden awakening.[74]

However, in spite of Yanshou's exhortation, he reminds readers that the *Zongjing lu* is in the end but an expedient.

> Now, for those people who aspire to [study the teachings of] the Buddhist vehicle [*focheng*] but have yet to realize their ambition, making use of the [*Records of the*] *Source-Mirror* [*zongjing*] will help them to reveal true mind. Even though it is based on written words [*wenyan*], the wondrous message [of the Buddha] is contained in these. [The *Records of the Source-Mirror*] humbly accommodates those of average and lower ability, accepting beings of every capacity. It merely defers to [the needs of] each individual person, providing benefits according to their endowments. . . . . People's endowments and capabilities are not equal; their joys and desires are not the same. Even though the four gateways for entering [the teaching] are different, at the moment one glimpses the truth that everything shares a common identity, nothing separates them.[75]

Yanshou claims that he employs words and letters to demonstrate the truth in them. When one awakens to the inherent origin of phenomena, one will not view them in terms of words and letters, but will discover their extreme subtlety. To the extent that one knows that phenomena are one's own mind-nature, the objects of consciousness and the wisdom that illuminates them will be blended together harmoniously, and phenomenal forms and emptiness will both be obliterated. This is the point, according to Yanshou, where one personally realizes the state of perfect illumination. When one enters this state, every method of realization becomes the same. Which method, Yanshou asks, should the teaching exclude? Which method should the patriarchs emphasize? Which method should be affirmed as sudden? Which method should be denied as gradual? Distinctions that would exclude one method and emphasize another are artificial, nothing but randomly produced distinctions of our consciousnesses.[76]

> Therefore, the patriarchs and Buddhas are adept at secretly deploying expedient methods. The formal teachings [*jiaocheng*] they have supplied in great number are skillful means appropriate to particular situations. As soon as one sees one's nature, one instantly has "no mind" [i.e., is spontaneously free] [*wuxin* 無心]. At this point, the remedy and the illness both disappear; the teaching [*jiao*] and contemplation techniques [*guan*] are both discontinued.[77]

Conscious of their limitations, Yanshou encourages the use of words and letters as expedient means to assist in leading one to liberation. This, according to Yanshou, is all Buddhist teaching has ever been. Once one has realized the state of no-mindedness, or spontaneous freedom (*wuxin*), a Chan code word for the realization of absolute spontaneity (i.e., enlightenment), the "logic" of doctrine and ritual collapses before the apprehension of "nondual" wisdom. At this point, Buddhist teaching and contemplation techniques are both discarded.

Concluding Remarks

In addition to the preface written by Prince Zhongyi (Qian Chu) for the original publication of the *Zongjing lu* in 961, a second preface was written in the sixth year of the *yuanyou* 元祐 era (1091) by the Song official Yang Jie 楊傑 (*jinshi* 進士 1059), accompanying the reissue of the *Zongjing lu*.[78] While Yang Jie's preface attests to the *Zongjing lu*'s continued importance for scholar-officials, it alludes to the fact that the work went largely unread in the first century or so of Song rule. Yang Jie mentions how Prince Zhongyi of Wuyue initially wrote a preface for the *Zongjing lu* and secreted it among the Buddhist canonical scriptures. During the *yuanfeng* 元豐 era (1078–85), a brother of the emperor, Wei Duan 魏端, presented it to the throne. A wood-block printing was made, and it was distributed to a few famous monasteries (*minglan* 名藍), but students from around the country rarely saw copies of the work. As a result, Yang Jie traveled to the Fayun 法雲 (Dharma-Cloud) Monastery in the eastern capital, where he first saw a copy of the newly issued Qiantang 錢唐 edition. A man from Wu 吳, Xu Sigong 徐思恭, asked Chan master Fayong 法涌, together with some elder monks, to edit the text comparing the canonical sources of the three vehicles and the masters' teachings cited in the *Zongjing lu* against other versions, with an aim toward forming an edition of the text suitable for wide dissemination. The preface of this edition was written at Fayong's request and accompanied the text's reissue.[79]

Judging from Yang Jie's assessment, the *Zongjing lu* was not well known in the early Song. There are probably several reasons for this. On the one hand,

the *Zongjing lu* bore the stigma of Wuyue Buddhism, and Prince Zhongyi's preface marked it as the work of a Song rival. Wuyue wealth and prosperity made the region the envy of China throughout the tenth century, and Song leaders were careful to manage their association with Wuyue after it capitulated to Song authority in 976. Moreover, Wuyue and Song ideology were at odds with each other. Wuyue announced itself as a self-proclaimed Buddhist kingdom, committed to supporting Buddhist monks and institutions as a mark of its identity. The Song literati, caught up in the wave of a burgeoning Confucian revival, harbored deep suspicions about Buddhism and its place in Song society. Chan support among the Song literati tended to converge around the style memorialized in the *denglu* and *yulu* works issued around this time and sponsored by imperial edict.

By the time of the *Zongjing lu*'s reissue, the dream of Wuyue independence had long passed. The text was no longer associated with the threat posed by a powerful rival. It could be simply appreciated as a compilation dedicated to the achievements of scholastic Buddhism, framed by Yanshou's own determination of Buddhist truth in terms of Chan *zong*. According to Yang Jie, "when the Buddhas proclaim the truth they consider mind as *zong*. When sentient beings express their faith they consider *zong* as a mirror."[80] At the root of both the Buddhas' and sentient beings' statements is universal mind. *Zong* is the mediating concept used by Buddhas to proclaim the truth of universal mind. For sentient beings, *zong* is the mirrored reality of the external world. In addition, Yang Jie connects Yanshou's compilation of the *Zongjing lu* with the words of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*: "The mind which the Buddha proclaimed is *zong*."[81] In effect, Yang Jie concurs with Yanshou that the essence of the Buddha's teaching—mind is *zong*—was articulated in the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, the scripture associated with the origins of Chan in China, reputedly used by Bodhidharma to convey Chan's central message.

It is beyond the scope of this investigation to address Yanshou's subsequent influence. There is some indication, however, that it was broadly construed, ranging from government officials to Neo-Confucian ideologues and to Buddhist pundits. We can assume from Yang Jie's preface that Yanshou and the *Zongjing lu* caught the attention of interested officials. The *Zongjing lu* was also read by influential Neo-Confucian ideologues as a major source for their understanding of Buddhism.[82]

In terms of the Yanshou's impact on East Asian Buddhism, Yanshou remains a figure central to the syncretic amalgamation of Chan and doctrinal Buddhism on which Chinese Chan and Korean Sŏn are predicated. In the case of Chinese Chan, Yanshou's understanding of Chan and his influence on blending Chan with scholastic Buddhist teaching remain important features of

Chan in Chinese communities down to the present.[83] With regard to Korean Sŏn, the works of Robert E. Buswell on Chinul's Sŏn show an emphasis on harmony between *sŏn* and *kyo* (Chin. *jiao*), the correspondence between Chan and doctrinal Buddhist teaching, in a manner similar to Yanshou.[84] In addition, Chinul frequently cited directly from Yanshou's works. Yanshou's implicit influence is also apparent in the development of Thiền in medieval Vietnam, as described by Cuong Tu Nguyen.[85] Even in the case of Japan, documents show unequivocally that Yanshou was a major figure for the pioneers who planted Zen on Japanese soil, Nōnin 能忍, Eisai (or Yōsai), and Dōgen. Until recently, the role of Nōnin and the Daruma-shū 達磨宗 in establishing Zen in Japan was largely unrecognized.[86] It has been further revealed that Nōnin based his Zen teaching on passages from Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*.[87] Moreover, Yanshou was eulogized by Dōgen in the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵 as a great master for his compassion and dedication to saving living beings.[88] Yanshou's teachings are also referred to, even quoted explicitly, by the initiator of Rinzai Zen in Japan, Eisai, who consciously relies on Yanshou's methodology and the "moderate" Zen tradition to argue for the adoption of Zen in Japan as the official ideology of the Japanese state.[89]

In spite of this influence, Yanshou's understanding of Chan has been largely undervalued in current scholarship. The purpose of this study is to reevaluate Yanshou's Chan thought within the context of its times and to restore Yanshou's status as a Chan thinker. Reduced to the criteria imposed by later Chan and Zen ideologues, Yanshou was marginalized as unworthy of Chan designation.[90] In fact, Yanshou was and is a major Chan figure, and there is growing recognition of this in contemporary scholarship. Yet much of the attention accorded Yanshou still falls under the influence of long-established parameters, and his contributions as a Chan master are usually qualified. His definition of Chan serves as a reminder of the alternate ways Chan was and is understood.[91]

The Chan movement was subject to numerous tendencies in the Five Dynasties and early Song periods. This is exhibited in the variety of literary styles produced in its name to champion its identity. Most of these are well known, at least in a general sense. For example, Chan "transmission records" (*denglu*), "recorded sayings" (*yulu*), and *kōan* 公案 (*gong'an*) collections are readily recognizable to students of Chan. Texts belonging to these genres are uniformly acknowledged as central to Chan identity. On the other hand, "Literary Chan" (*wenzi chan* 文字禪), the "words and letters" Chan style that is characteristic of Yanshou and others, has often been ignored and disregarded as an illegitimate expression of Chan. However uncomfortably Yanshou's Chan squares with present-day Rinzai Zen orthodoxy, it must be granted legitimacy

in its own context and as a major influence on the spread of Chan throughout East Asia. Now that modern Zen orthodoxy has been exposed for what it is—an interpretation rooted in Japan's quest for cultural autonomy—and alternate interpretations of Chan/Zen are open for consideration, it is appropriate to begin to explore in detail what some of these alternate interpretations are, particularly those, like Yanshou's, that have exerted such a strong and lasting influence. The aim of this chapter is to offer a step in this direction.

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4

Yanshou and Chan Lineages

An Overview of Chan Sources and Chan Patriarchs in the Zongjing Lu

The Importance of the *Zongjing Lu* for the Study of Chan

While Yanshou's approach to Chan at a theoretical level is generally understood, little work has been done toward revealing how Yanshou incorporated the patriarchs of Chan factions and their writings into his overarching conception of Chan in the *Zongjing lu*. Indeed, the omission of Yanshou's contributions in this regard is a great oversight in contemporary Chan and Zen studies. Along with the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the *Zongjing lu* represents a major source for our understanding of emerging Chan movements in the Five Dynasties and early Song periods. The names of nearly 170 Chan masters and Chan texts are mentioned in the *Zongjing lu*. The names of Chan masters alone account for 128 of that total. If the verses attributed to the seven Buddhas of the past and the entries on the Indian patriarchs up to Bodhidharma are included, the total reaches 160.[1] And this number does not include the numerous references to Xiande 先德 (Former Virtuous Ones), Gude 古德 (Old Virtuous Ones), Xiren 昔人 (Persons of the Past), and Zushi 祖師 (Patriarchal Masters), many of which are probably to the teachings of Chan masters. Compared with the 245 Chan masters recorded in the *Zutang ji*, the *Zongjing lu*'s roster of entries represents a significant number, and a perspective on Chan roughly contemporary with the *Zutang ji*.

While the *Zongjing lu* entries are not arranged as "biographies" as in the *Zutang ji*, *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, and other conventional Chan "lamp records" (*denglu*), they do contain fragments of Chan master's teachings. These fragments are important in at least two regards. In the first place, they provide alternate and often insightful variations on the teachings of individual masters recorded elsewhere. Second, and even more significant, they record teachings of Chan masters not recorded elsewhere. Given the importance of the *Zongjing lu* for our understanding of Chan and its sources, why have the *Zongjing lu*'s contributions to the study of Chan been ignored?

Evidence of this omission is found throughout works on Chan and Zen studies in Japanese and other languages. The source of this omission lies in presumptions among Japanese Zen scholars regarding orthodoxy and its parameters, as noted in chapter 3, that exclude Yanshou and his writings, except in a restricted manner. In a word, Yanshou did not belong to any existing Japanese Zen lineage and his efforts were reduced to a Zen-Pure Land syncretism that had no following in Japan, or a Zen and doctrinal Buddhist synthesis that was deemed antithetical to "pure" Zen teaching. Even where Yanshou's recording of Chan master's fragments were noted, as they often were, not much credence was accorded them as contemporary records expressing a legitimate, if contrary, view of Chan. As a result, even though the *Zongjing lu* is cited with some frequency by Japanese Zen scholars, its inclusion of Chan masters has never been studied systematically but only in a perfunctory and piecemeal fashion as a supplement to "proper" Chan sources and either as a foil or a complement to contemporary Zen orthodoxy.[2] Because of the sectarian nature of Buddhism after Yanshou, he was easily dismissed from the ranks of "true" Chan masters on the grounds that the style of Chan he espoused conflicted with the growing consensus on Linji faction interpretation. Evidence of this was seen in the review of Yanshou's hagiographical records in chapter 1. In addition, as Yanshou was forced to the margins of the Chan school, he was embraced by advocates of a Tiantai-based Pure Land practice. Yanshou's devotional tendencies, largely associated with the *Lotus sūtra* and his tenure on Mt. Tiantai, made Yanshou an attractive candidate for such developments. In both cases, Yanshou's Chan persona was rendered nonpotent, and the nature of his Chan teaching was reduced to simple platitudes (e.g. "harmony between Chan and the Teachings") and not explored in detail. Given the nature of the *Zongjing lu* as one of our earliest and best resources for understanding Chan during a critical phase of its development, it is important that the information recorded in the *Zongjing lu* be properly taken into account.

A Comprehensive List of Chan Lineage Sources in the *Zongjing Lu*

I begin with a comprehensive list of all the Chan masters and texts cited in the *Zongjing lu*.[3] In order to make Chan masters' teachings readily accessible, table 4.1 provides an alphabetized index (following pinyin pronunciations) of all fragments and texts attributed to Chan masters in the *Zongjing lu*. The first column lists the name of the Chan master or text, usually as it appears in the *Zongjing lu* (e.g. Songshan An instead of Laoan or Huian), but in some cases, references are grouped under a common name, with crosslisting provided (see, for example, the different names and texts attributed to Bodhidharma, listed under Damo dashi). In cases where the monk is known by other names, cross-listing is provided (e.g. Laoan → see Songshan An). The second column gives the location in the *Zongjing lu* where the fragment is found, in the order of fascicle, page, column, and lines of the Taishō text (T 48–2016). The third column provides explanatory notation. There are too many fragments in the *Zongjing lu* to track down all of them with precision and in detail. I have also provided cross-citation with other Chan sources, primarily the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, when appropriate. In some cases, these references to cross-citations of fragments are both specific and extensive; in others, only general information is provided. One can use this as a guide for comparing variations of the same fragment in different sources, depending on one's specific interests (i.e., depending on which Chan masters or texts one is interested in).

TABLE 4.1 Index of fragments and texts attributed to Chan masters in the *Zongjing lu* (TABLE 4.1 notes are listed at the end of chapter 4)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
An Chanshi 安禪師	ZJL 97: 941b17–20	d. of Bodhidharma
An Fashi 安法師	ZJL 89: 903b14–16	Unknown
Anguo [Xuanting] 安國 [玄挺]	ZJL 69: 805b10–18 ZJL 85: 883a8–12	d. of Niutou Zhiwei 牛頭智威
Anxin famen 安心法門, see Damo dashi		
Baizhang Heshang 百丈和尚	ZJL 19: 520a13–14	= Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 → *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄; d. of Mazu Daoyi[1]
	ZJL 19: 522c21–26	→ *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄
	ZJL 78: 848a22–b12	→ *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄 → ZTJ 14
	ZJL 98: 944b28–c14	→ ZTJ 14 & CDL 16

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
→ *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣語	ZJL 15: 494c9–11	→ *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄
	ZJL 98: 944c5–14	→ *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄
Baizhang Weizheng (see Weizheng)		
Baozhi (see Zhi gong)		
Batuo Sanzang 跋陀三藏	ZJL 100: 953a13–18	
Benjing, see Sikong Benjing		
Bodhidharma (see Damo dashi)		
Budai Heshang 布袋和尚	ZJL 19: 523a14–19	→ *Budai ge* 布袋歌, CDL 27[2]
Can Dashi 璨大師	ZJL 26: 566a5–8	= Sengcan 僧璨
	ZJL 98: 940a4–6	
Caoshan Heshang 曹山和尚	ZJL 41: 655c22–25	= Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂
	ZJL 98: 946c11–20	
Caotang Heshang 草堂和尚	ZJL 73: 826c12–14	= Caotang Feixi 草堂飛錫
	ZJL 98: 944b24–28	→ *Nianfo sanmei baowang lun* 念佛三昧寶王論[3]
Changsha Heshang 長沙和尚	ZJL 98: 945c13–18	= Changsha Jingcen 長沙景岑; d. of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願[4]
Chanmen zhong 禪門中	ZJL 39: 638a18–21	
Chanzong 禪宗	ZJL 41: 660a10–16	
Chengguan, see Guan Heshang		
Chonghui Fashi 崇慧法師	ZJL 69: 806a21–??	= Tianzhu Chonghui 天柱崇慧; d. of Niutou Zhiwei 牛頭智威
Chou Chanshi 稠禪師	ZJL 97: 941b28–c1	= Seng Chou 僧稠[5]
Daan Heshang	ZJL 15: 494a25–29?	= Fuzhou Daan 福州大安;[6] d. of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海
	ZJL 98: 945c5–12	→ ZTJ 17 & CDL 9[7]
Dabei Heshang 大悲和尚	ZJL 98: 944b22–24	d. of Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 (heir of Linji)
Dacheng rudao anxin fa 大乘入道安心法[8]	ZJL 99: 950c8–12	
Dadian Heshang 大顛和尚	ZJL 98: 944a19–b1	→ ZTJ 5[9]; d. of Shitou
Damei Heshang 大梅和尚	ZJL 23: 543c6–544a?	d. of Mazu Daoyi
	ZJL 98: 944c20–945a14	
Damo dashi 達磨大師 = Bodhidharma	ZJL 1: 417c1–3	
	ZJL 3: 428b11	→ *Anxin famen* 安心法門
	ZJL 19: 521a11–13	
	ZJL 41: 656b9–11	
	ZJL 43: 667a24–25	
→ *Anxin famen* 安心法門[10]	ZJL 97: 939b25–c29	→ T 48.370a–c
→ as Chuzu dashi 初祖大師	ZJL 12: 482a10	→ *Anxin famen* 安心法門
→ as Pudi damo duoluo 菩提達磨多羅	ZJL 97: 939b10	
Danxia Heshang 丹霞和尚	ZJL 1: 419b14–16	= Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然; d. of Shitou

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
	ZJL 20: 526a24–27	→ *Guji yin* 孤寂吟[11]
	ZJL 31: 599a	→ *Guji yin* 孤寂吟[12]
	ZJL 37: 637a13–15	→ *Longzhu yin* 弄珠吟[13]
	ZJL 98: 944a9–12	
Daoshi → Gaoseng Shi Daoshi 高僧釋道世	ZJL 98: 942a25–28	→ SGSZ 4[14]
	ZJL 100: 953a18–19	
Daoxin Dashi 道信	ZJL 97: 940a6–10	d. of Seng Can
Dazhu Heshang 大珠和尚	ZJL 85: 883a12–15?	= Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海; d. of Mazu Daoyi
	ZJL 98: 946b16–c2	→ CDL 28[15]
Dazu Fashi 大足法師	ZJL 26: 566c26–28	Unknown
Deshan Heshang 德山和尚	ZJL 98: 946a3–8	= Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑; d. of Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信
Dharani, see *Tuoluoni sanmei famen jie*		
Dongshan Heshang 洞山和尚	ZJL 6: 445a4–16?	= Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价; d. of Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟
	ZJL 6: 448a23–c11?	
	ZJL 12: 482a8–10	
	ZJL 14: 493c20–494a1?	
	ZJL 40: 652b13–15	
	ZJL 92: 919b29–c4	
	ZJL 98: 946c11–20	→ *Xindan jue* 心丹訣
→ *Xindan jue* 心丹訣	ZJL 16: 499b11–13	
Ehu Dayi 鵝湖大義	ZJL 1: 419a2–10	→ ZJL 15[16] d. of Mazu Daoyi
Facong → Shi Facong 釋法聰	ZJL 99: 950c6–8	Unknown[17]
Fahua mingxiang 法華名相, see Niutou Farong		
Fakong → Gaoseng Shi Fakong 高僧釋法空	ZJL 98: 942a13–17	XGSZ 25[18]
Fan Chanshi 梵禪師	ZJL 97: 941b11–13	Unknown
Farong, see Niutou Farong		
Faxi → Gaoseng Shi Faxi 高僧釋法喜	ZJL 98: 942a6–7	XGSZ 19[19]
Fazhao Chanshi 法照禪師	ZJL 97: 941b5–10	d. of Honren (?)[20]
Feixi, see Caotang Heshang		
Fenzhou Wuye Heshang 汾州無業和尚	ZJL 98: 942c25–943a14	d. of Mazu Daoyi[21]
Fu Dashi 傅大士	ZJL 3: 429c28–430a2?	→ *Xinglu nan* 行路難 = Wuzhou Shanhui 婺州善慧 See CDL 27[22]
	ZJL 6: 448a21–23	

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
	ZJL 9: 461c2–3	
	ZJL 14: 492b3–6	
	ZJL 14: 493b20–23	
	ZJL 19: 522c28–523a2	
	ZJL 21: 530b3–4	
	ZJL 22: 536b27–c3	→ *Xinwang lun* 心王論 = *Xinwang ming* 心王銘[23]
	ZJL 24: 548c17–23?	
	ZJL 25: 560a14–15	
	ZJL 27: 568a24–25	
	ZJL 29: 585c12–18	→ *Xinglu nan* 行路難
	ZJL 29: 589a22–b9	→ *Sanjian ge* 三諫歌
	ZJL 29: 589b9–21	→ *Sanjian ge* 三諫歌
	ZJL 30: 593c20–22	
	ZJL 35: 623a24–26	
	ZJL 40: 651c25–652a1	
	ZJL 41: 656c6–11	
	ZJL 41: 657c22–24	→ *Xinglu nan* 行路易
	ZJL 49: 707b26–27	
	ZJL 84: 879a12–14	
Fuli Fashi 復禮法師	ZJL 5: 440b6–10[24]	Unknown; *Zhenwang jie* 真妄偈
	ZJL 5: 440c13–14	
	ZJL 89: 901a14–b7?	
	ZJL 100: 952b7–11	
Futuo Chanshi 伏陀禪師	ZJL 98: 942a28–b1	Unknown
Ganquan Heshang 甘泉和尚	ZJL 98: 943b18–c4	= Ganquan Zhixian 甘泉志賢(?); d. of Mazu Daoyi
Gaocheng Heshang 高城和尚	ZJL 18: 511c17–20	= Gaocheng Fazang 高城法藏?; d. of Mazu Daoyi
	ZJL 44: 674a5–16?	
	ZJL 98: 945a18–27	
Gaoseng Shi Daoshi, see Daoshi		
Gaoseng Shi Fakong, see Fakong		
Gaoseng Shi Faxi, see Faxi		
Gaoseng Shi Lingrun, see Lingrun		
Gaoseng Shi Tansui, see Tansui		
Gaoseng Shi Tongda, see Tongda		
Gaoseng Shi Zhitong, see Zhitong		
Gaoseng Shi Zhuanming, see Zhuanming		
Guan Heshang 觀和尚	ZJL 11: 487b7–9	= Huayan Chengguan[25] 華嚴澄觀
	ZJL 27: 568c6–10?	
	ZJL 33: 605b9–10	→ *Yanyi chao* 演義鈔[26]
	ZJL 37: 631a20–22?	

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
	ZJL 90: 905c26–??	
→ *Xinyao qian* 心要牋	ZJL 19: 522c3–7	→ CDL 30[27]
	ZJL 41: 657c11–18	→ CDL 30[28]
Guanqi Heshang 灌溪和尚	ZJL 98: 943c23–24	= Guanqi Zhixian 灌溪志閑; d. of Linji
Guanxin lun 觀心論	ZJL 30: 589c3–591a18	Zhiyi 智顗, *Guanxin lun* 觀心論[29]
	ZJL 55: 737a7–10	
	ZJL 92: 919c4–8	Zhiyi 智顗, *Guanxin lun* 觀心論[30]
Guanxin lun shu 觀心論疏	ZJL 30: 591a23–25	Guanding 灌頂, *Guanxin lun shu* 觀心論疏[31]
	ZJL 30: 591b13, b23–24	Guanding 灌頂, *Guanxin lun shu* 觀心論疏[32]
	ZJL 30: 591c1–4	Guanding 灌頂, *Guanxin lun shu* 觀心論疏[33]
Guishan Jingce 潙山警策	ZJL 42: 666c24–28?	Text by Guishan Lingyou[34]
Guishan [Lingyou] 潙山 [靈祐]	ZJL 98: 943c6–8	d. of Baizhang Huaihai
Guizong Heshang 歸宗和尚	ZJL 98: 944b18–22	= Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常; d. of Mazu Daoyi
Guixin lun 歸心論	ZJL 99: 949c11–16	Unknown[35]
Hanshan zi shi 寒山子詩	ZJL 2: 426a5–8	
	ZJL 6: 448a15–18	
	ZJL 9: 462I2–14	
	ZJL 11: 477b12–15	
	ZJL 12: 481b4–8	
	ZJL 19: 523a4–7	
	ZJL 21: 531a3–6	
	ZJL 31: 594c13–16	
	ZJL 98: 941c23–25	
	ZJL 98: 945a4–5	
Hecan 何璨	ZJL 31: 594a1–8	Unknown
Heze [Shenhui] 荷澤 [神會]	ZJL 2: 427c7	Zongmi 宗密, *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集[36]
	ZJL 36: 627b4–6, 7–9	Zongmi 宗密, *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集[37]
→ as Shuinan Heshang 水南和尚	ZJL 34: 615b11–28?[38]	
Hongren Dashi 弘忍大師	ZJL 97: 940a14–22	
→ as *xiande* 先德	ZJL 29: 588b11–13	From *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論[39]
Hongyan Fashi 弘沇法師	ZJL 100: 952b13	Unknown
Huairang, see Rang Dashi		
Huangbo Heshang 黃檗和尚	ZJL 6: 444b23–c2	*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要[40]
	ZJL 11: 477a14–22	*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要[41]
	ZJL 24: 550b5–25	*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要[42]
	ZJL 42: 652b18–19	*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要[43]
	ZJL 98: 943c29–944a5	*Wanling lu* 宛陵錄[44]
	ZJL 98: 944a5–8	*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要[45]

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Huayan Chengguan, see Guan Heshang		
Huanyuan guan 還原觀	ZJL 8: 458c23[46]	Fazang 法藏
	ZJL 9: 462a27[47]	
	ZJL 12: 481b9[48]	
	ZJL 25: 559c19[49]	
	ZJL 32: 601b6[50]	
	ZJL 67: 793b25[51]	
	ZJL 86: 888b3[52]	
	ZJL 89: 902a26[53]	
	ZJL 91: 912c26[54]	
	ZJL 94: 927b20[55]	
Huanyuan ji 還原集	ZJL 11: 476c17	Foku Yize/Weize 佛窟遺則 / 惟則; d. of Niutou Huizhong 牛頭慧忠
	ZJL 54: 730b25	
	ZJL 65: 780a11	
Huayan jinguan 華嚴錦冠	ZJL 100: 953b14–25?	
Huayan siji 華嚴私記, see Niutou Farong		
Huian (see Songshan An)		
Huici Chanshi 慧慈禪師	ZJL 97: 941c1–5	Unknown
Huiji Fashi 慧集法師	ZJL 100: 952b12–13	Unknown
[Hui]ke Erzu [慧] 可二祖	ZJL 84: 879a26–27	
	ZJL 97: 939c29–940a4	
→ Erzu 二祖	ZJL 43: 667a22–23	
Huiman Chanshi 慧滿禪師	ZJL 97: 941c5–8	d. of Huike
Huimin Fashi 慧敏法師	ZJL 99: 950c6–8	Unknown
Huineng Dashi 慧能大師	ZJL 97: 940a22–29	d. of Hongren
→ as the Sixth Patriarch 六祖	ZJL 14: 493c19–20	
	ZJL 15: 498c23–25	
	ZJL 17: 505c14–16	
	ZJL 31: 594c9–10	
	ZJL 36: 626c28–627a1	
	ZJL 80: 856c22–24	
Huizhong (Nanyang), see Nanyang Zhong Guoshi		
Huizhong (Niutou), see Niutoushan Zhong Heshang		
Jian Heshang 堅和尚	ZJL 80: 861a20–862c1?	Unknown[56]
Jianjin [*song*] 簡金 [頌]	ZJL 85: 885c15–24	Unknown
Jiashan Heshang 夾山和尚	ZJL 98: 945c4–5	= Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會; d. of Huating Decheng 華亭德誠
Jingmai 靖邁, as Gaoseng Shi Jingmai 高僧釋靖邁	ZJL 98: 942a17–18	Unknown
Jingming siji 淨名私記, see Niutou Farong		

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Jizhou Si Heshang 吉州思和尚	ZJL 98: 940b15–c9	= Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思; d. of Huineng
Jue Chanshi 覺禪師	ZJL 98: 941b20–23	Unknown
Jueduo Sanzang 崛多三藏	ZJL 97: 940c17–18	d. of Huineng[57]
Lang Chanshi 朗禪師	ZJL 97: 941b26–28	Unknown[58]
Lanzan Heshang 懶瓚和尚	ZJL 98: 941c26–942a2	= Nanyue Mingzan 南嶽明瓚; d. of Puji; → CDL 30[59]
Laoan (see Songshan An)		
Lingbian Heshang 靈辯和尚	ZJL 98: 946c20–947a7	Unknown[60]
Lingrun → Gaoseng Shi Lingrun 高僧釋靈潤	ZJL 98: 942a7–13	XGSZ 15[61]
Lingsou yin 靈叟吟	ZJL 41: 657c18–22	
Linji Heshang 臨濟和尚	ZJL 98: 943c8–22	= Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄; d. of Huangbo Xiyun 黄檗希運[62]
Longshu Pusa (Nāgārjuna) 龍樹菩薩	ZJL 32: 600c10–14?	
	ZJL 33: 607b1–2	
	ZJL 38: 639a10–b1?	
	ZJL 39: 647b15–25?	
	ZJL 44: 677b6–9	
	ZJL 46: 685b20–22	
	ZJL 65: 784b21–23	
	ZJL 92: 942a3–17	
	ZJL 99: 947c23–25	
Longtan Heshang 龍潭和尚	ZJL 92: 919b27–29	= Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信; d. of Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟[63]
Longya Heshang 龍牙和尚	ZJL 98: 945c18–946a2	= Longya Judun 龍牙居遁; d. of Dongshan[64]
Luopu Heshang 洛浦和尚 →*Shenjian ge* 神劍歌	ZJL 18: 511a 6–8	= Luopu Yuan'an 洛浦元安; d. of Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會
Maming 馬鳴 (= Asvagosha)	ZJL 41: 656c11–24	→ *Maming pusa zhuan* 馬鳴菩薩傳[65]
Mazu Dashi 馬祖大師	ZJL 1: 418b13–c10	→ ZTJ 14
	ZJL 2: 427c6–7	→ *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集[66]
	ZJL 14: 492a10–27	
	ZJL 49: 707b17–26	
	ZJL 92: 919b14–24 & 24–26	→ ZTJ 14
	ZJL 97: 6–15	→ ZTJ 14
Ming Dashi 命大師	ZJL 98: 943b6–12	Unknown→ *Rongxin lun* 融心論[67]
Nanquan Heshang 南泉和尚	ZJL 6: 444c13–19	= Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 → ZTJ 16; d of. Mazu Daoyi
	ZJL 98: 942c19–25	
Nanyang Huizhong Guoshi 南陽慧忠國師	ZJL 1: 418c10–419a2	→ ZTJ 3 & CDL 5, 28

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
	ZJL 2: 424c1–4	
	ZJL 13: 488a10–17	
	ZJL 41: 656c24–26	
	ZJL 43: 671b21–26?	
	ZJL 44: 672b7–12	
	ZJL 100: 955a19–23	
Nanyue Huairang, see Rang Dashi		
Nanyue Sida Heshang 南嶽思大和尚	ZJL 97: 941a13–24	= Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思 (Tiantai Lineage)[68]
Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 → Niutou Chuzu 牛頭初祖	ZJL 9: 463b11	→ *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論[69]
→ Rong Dashi 融大師	ZJL 4: 438b11–15?	
	ZJL 6: 445a26–b5	
	ZJL 6: 449b9–10?	
	ZJL 15: 497a18–b1?	
	ZJL 16: 500b21–24?	
	ZJL 19: 522c26–28	
	ZJL 24: 549a4–7	
	ZJL 29: 589a18–19	
	ZJL 31: 594c10–13	→ *Xinming* 心銘[70]
	ZJL 37: 637a15–20	→ *Xin ming* 心銘[71]
	ZJL 45: 681b15–24	
	ZJL 73: 826c2–10?	
	ZJL 77: 842b10–13	→ *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論
	ZJL 80: 862a28–29	
	ZJL 97: 941a24–b5	→ *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論
→ *Fahua mingxiang* 法華名相	ZJL 25: 556b4–15	
→ *Huayan siji* 華嚴私記	ZJL 19: 519c12–14	Niutou Farong 牛頭法融
	ZJL 24: 549a21–26	
	ZJL 27: 567c21–26	
	ZJL 37: 634a22–26	
	ZJL 50: 713b25–28	
	ZJL 61: 762c18–20	
→ *Jingming siji* 淨名私記	ZJL 15: 494c16–19?	Compiled by Niutou Farong 牛頭法融
	ZJL 20: 526c9–21?	
	ZJL 24: 552b19–24?	
	ZJL 25: 557c6	
	ZJL 25: 558c17–21	
	ZJL 26: 564c3–13?	
	ZJL 41: 657c27–29	
→ *Xinming* 心銘	ZJL 5: 444b20–23	→ CDL 30[72]
	ZJL 9: 463a17–19	→ CDL 30[73]
	ZJL 15: 496b26–27	→ CDL 30[74]
Niutou Foku Heshang 牛頭佛窟和尚	ZJL 98: 946a8–b3	= Tiantai Foku 天台佛窟; d. of Niutou Huizhong

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Niutou Huizhong Heshang 牛頭慧忠和尚	ZJL 98: 945b17–c4	d. of Niutou Zhiwei 牛頭智威
	ZJL 13: 487b14	
	ZJL 23: 541c12	
Pang Jushi 龐居士	ZJL 3: 429c28–430a2?	d. of Mazu[75] → *Xinglu nan* 行路難
	ZJL 8: 458c4–9	
	ZJL 15: 494c11–16	
	ZJL 15: 497b10–11	
	ZJL 16: 499b18–20	→ ZTJ 15
	ZJL 18: 511b29–c1	
	ZJL 19: 523a2–4	
	ZJL 23: 542a4–8	
	ZJL 25: 557c1–5	
	ZJL 29: 589a6–9	
	ZJL 33: 605c26–29	→ ZTJ 15
	ZJL 40: 652b15–18	
	ZJL 41: 657b23–24	
	ZJL 98: 941c20–23	
Panruo yin 般若吟	ZJL 36: 624c13–14	
	ZJL 39: 650b6	
Panshan 盤山和尚	ZJL 41: 657b22–23	= Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積 → ZTJ 15 & CDL 7; d. of Mazu
	ZJL 80: 861a20–27?	
	ZJL 98: 944c14–20	→ ZTJ 15 & CDL 7; d. of Mazu
Pu'an 普岸大師	ZJL 98: 943c5–8	= Tiantai Pu'an 天台普岸; d. of Baizhang Huaihai[76]
Puzhi Chanshi 普智禪師	ZJL 90: 910a25–28	Unknown
Qianding lu 前定錄	ZJL 71: 815c16–27	Compiled by Zhong Lu[77] 鍾輅
Qianqing Heshang 千頃和尚	ZJL 98: 945a27–b13)	= Qianqing Chunan 千頃楚南; d. of Huangbo Xiyun[78]
Qifo *Chuanfa jie* 七佛傳法偈	ZJL 97: 937c8–26	→ ZTJ 1
Qingyuan Xingsi, see Jizhou Si Heshang		
Rao Chanshi 堯禪師	ZJL 97: 941b25–26	Unknown
Rang Dashi 讓大師	ZJL 97: 940a29–b6	= Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓; d. of Huineng
Sanping Heshang 三平和尚	ZJL 98: 944b1–5	= Sanping Yizhong 三平義忠; d. of Dadian Baotong 大顛寶通
Seng Can, see Can Dashi		
Seng Chou, see Chou Chanshi		
Seng Gai 僧崖	ZJL 99: 950c5	Unknown
Seven Buddhas of the Past, see Qifo		
Shenhui, see Heze [Shenhui]		
Shenkun Heshang 神錕和尚	ZJL 35: 617c28–618a7?	Unknown

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
	ZJL 75: 831c10–17	
	ZJL 100: 952b20–23	
Shenxiu Heshang 神秀和尚	ZJL 98: 943a24–b6	
Shi Facong, see Facong		
Shi Zhitong, see Zhitong		
Shidi lun 十地論	ZJL 74: 828c9–13	
	ZJL 80: 858b28–c3	
Shigong Heshang 石鞏和尚 → *Nongzhu yin* 弄珠吟	ZJL 11: 477b17–20	= Shigong Huizang 石鞏慧藏; d. of Mazu Daoyi; → ZJL 14[79]
→ *Nongzhu yin* 弄珠吟	ZJL 76: 837a26–28	→ CDL 30[80]
Shitou Heshang 石頭和尚	ZJL 98: 943c24–29	= Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷; d. of Qingyuan Xingsi
Shuilao Heshang 水潦和尚	ZJL 98: 944a12–16	= Hongzhou Shuilao 洪州水老; d. of Mazu Daoyi[81]
Sikong Benjing Chanshi 思空本淨禪師	ZJL 1: 419a–10–16	d. of Huineng[82]
	ZJL 15: 496b22–26	
Songshan An Heshang 嵩山安和尚	ZJL 97: 940c10–17	aka Lao/Huian 老 / 慧安; d. of Hongren
Taishan Shigai 臺山釋 [目 + 葢]	ZJL 100: 953a5–6	Unknown; Commentary on the *Lankavatāra sūtra* 楞伽經訣
Taiyuan Heshang 太原和尚	ZJL 98: 942b12–18	= Taiyuan Haihu 太原海湖 (?);[83] d. of Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會
Tansui → Gaoseng Shi Tansui 高僧釋曇遂	ZJL 98: 942b4–6	→ XGSZ 26[84]
Tengteng Heshang 騰騰和尚	ZJL 98: 942a2–6	d. of Laoan Guoshi[85]
Tianhuang Daowu, see Tianhuang Heshang		
Tianhuang Heshang 天皇和尚	ZJL 98: 942b18–24	= Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟; d. of Shitou Xiqian
Tiantai Foku, see Niutou Foku		
Tiantai Shide 天台拾得	ZJL 24: 550c6–8	→ CDL 27
	ZJL 33: 605c21–26	
Tiantai Yunju, see Yunju Heshang		
Tibo zhuan 提婆傳	ZJL 99: 950c29–951b20	→ *Tibo pusa zhuan* 提婆菩薩傳[86]
Tongda → Gaoseng Shi Tongda 高僧釋通達	ZJL 98: 942a19–20	→ XGSZ 25[87]
Tuoluoni sanmei famen jie 陀羅尼三昧法門偈	ZJL 99: 950a16–20	
Twenty–Eight Patriarchs of the West, see Xitian Twenty–Eight Patriarchs		
Wang You zheng 王右丞	ZJL 10: 473a20–21	Also cited by Chengguan 澄觀 *Huayanjing yanyichao* 華嚴經演義鈔[88]

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Wanhui Heshang 萬廻和尚	ZJL 19: 523b8–11	= Wanhui Fayun 萬廻法雲[89]
Weixin jue 唯心訣	ZJL 46: 688b20–689b6	→ Yanshou, *Weixin jue* 唯心訣[90]
Weizheng 惟政[91]	ZJL 98: 945b13–17	Aka Baizhang Fazheng 百丈法正 and Niepan heshang 涅槃和尚;[92] d. of Baizhang Huihai[93]
Wolun Chanshi 臥輪禪師	ZJL 98: 942c16–19	Unknown[94]
Wusheng yi 無生義[95]	ZJL 4: 438b21–27	Compiled by Niutou Foku 牛頭佛窟
	ZJL 5: 441b15–19	
	ZJL 8: 459c9–??	
	ZJL 10: 474a21–b2?	
	ZJL 19: 519c29–520a10	
	ZJL 38: 638a7–8?	
	ZJL 40: 650a13–18?	
	ZJL 45: 681b10–12	
	ZJL 89: 902c22–27?	
Wuyi Heshang 五洩和尚	ZJL 83: 875a7–10	= Wuyi Lingmo 五洩靈默[96] d. of Mazu Daoyi
Xian Yunju Heshang 先雲居和尚	ZJL 98: 947a8–b2	= Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺; d. of Dongshan
Xiangyan Heshang 香嚴和尚	ZJL 6: 444c23–26	= Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑; d. of Guishan Lingyou[97]
	ZJL 24: 550b25–28	
Xiao Fashi 曉法師	ZJL 5: 441c18–21	Unknown;[98] also cited in Chengguan 澄觀, *Yanyi chao* 演義鈔[99]
Xiang Jushi 向居士	ZJL 32: 603b18–26	d. of Huike[100]
Xingshan Heshang 興善和尚	ZJL 98: 942b24–c4	= Xingshan Weikuan 興善惟寬; d. of Mazu Daoyi
Xinxin ming 信心銘	ZJL 1: 420a23–24[101]	
	ZJL 7: 452c10–11[102]	
	ZJL 11: 478b10–11[103]	
	ZJL 16: 500b20–21[104]	
	ZJL 25: 560a13–14[105]	
	ZJL 36: 631a1–3[106]	
	ZJL 81: 863b13–14[107]	
	ZJL 85: 882a26–27[108]	
	ZJL 91: 912b25–26[109]	
	ZJL 99: 948a29–b1[110]	
Xitian Twenty–Eight Patriarchs 西天二十八祖	ZJL 97: 937c27–939b25	→ *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 → ZTJ 1
Xuance, see Zhice Heshang		
Xuanfu song 漩澓頌	ZJL 4: 435b29–c6[111]	
Yangshan Heshang 仰山和尚	ZJL 24: 492b28–c3[112]	= Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂; d. of Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐
	ZJL 41: 656b11–13	
	ZJL 98: 944a16–19	

(continued)

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Yanguan Heshang 鹽官和尚	ZJL 28: 580a12ff	= Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齊安; d. of Mazu Daoyi[113]
Yantou Heshang 巖頭和尚	ZJL 98: 945a15–18	= Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全豁; d. of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑
Yaoshan Heshang 藥山和尚	ZJL 1: 418a19–22	= Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼; d. of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷[114]
Yibo Heshang ge 一鉢和尚歌	ZJL 13: 488b23–27	= Beidu Chanshi 杯渡禪師[115] → CDL 30
	ZJL 19: 523a9–14	→ CDL 30
	ZJL 43: 670a8–10	→ CDL 30
	ZJL 95: 932b12–13	→ CDL 30
Yongjia [Xuanjue] 永嘉 [玄覺]	ZJL 9: 463a18–19[116]	Aka Yongjia Zhenjue 永嘉真覺; d. of Huineng
→ *Yongjia ji* 永嘉集	ZJL 12: 480a18–b21[117]	
	ZJL 36: 624c3–6[118]	
	ZJL 36: 624c7–11[119]	
	ZJL 36: 626a7–15[120]	
	ZJL 36: 631a10–20[121]	
	ZJL 37: 637a25–b1[122]	
	ZJL 45: 682a6–10[123]	
	ZJL 69: 802a26–b3[124]	
	ZJL 88: 900a11–25[125]	
	ZJL 95: 929b29–c4[126]	
→ *Zhengdao ge* 證道歌	ZJL 36: 627b18–19[127]	
	ZJL 40: 652b19–23[128]	
	ZJL 43: 670a10–12[129]	
	ZJL 92: 918c24–919a2[130]	
	ZJL 93: 923c18–21[131]	
→ as Zhenjue Dashi 真覺大師	ZJL 9: 460b20–25[132]	*Zhengdao ge* 證道歌
	ZJL 14: 492b6–11[133]	
	ZJL 15: 496c6–13[134]	
	ZJL 19: 522c19–26[135]	
	ZJL 29: 584a9–11[136]	*Zhengdao ge* 證道歌
	ZJL 41: 657b20–22[137]	
	ZJL 98: 943a14–18[138]	*Yongjia ji* 永嘉集
Yuan Chanshi 緣禪師	ZJL 97: 941b15–17	Unknown
Yuankang Fashi 元康法師	ZJL 100: 952b23–24	d. of Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐[139]
Yuanji (nun) 圓寂尼	ZJL 97: 941b23–25	Unknown
Yunju Heshang 雲居和尚	ZJL 98: 946b4–16	= Tiantai Yunju 天台雲居; d. of Niutou Foku 牛頭佛窟
Yunju Daoying, see Xian Yunju Heshang		
Yunyan Tan 雲巖		
Zang Chanshi 藏禪師	ZJL 97: 941b13–15	Unknown
Zhengdao ge 證道歌 (see Yongjia [Xuanjue])		

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name of master/text	Location in the *Zongjing lu*	Explanatory notes
Zhenjue Dashi, see Yongjia [Xuanjue]		
Zhi gong 志公	ZJL 1: 421b8–10	= Baozhi Heshang 寶誌和尚; see CDL 27[140]
	ZJL 13: 485a27–b7	→ CDL 29[141]
	ZJL 14: 492a27–b3	→ CDL 29[142]
	ZJL 15: 494a7–10	→ CDL 29[143]
	ZJL 19: 523a7–9	
	ZJL 24: 549a20–21	→ CDL 29[144]
	ZJL 24: 550c8–9	→ CDL 29[145]
	ZJL 29: 586a2–3	→ CDL 29[146]
	ZJL 58: 749b26–c2	→ CDL 29[147]
	ZJL 79: 850b15–16	
	ZJL 80: 862a27–29	→ CDL 29[148]
	ZJL 98: 941c16–20	
	ZJL 98: 947b2–5	
Zhice Heshang 智策和尚	ZJL 97: 940c29–941a1	→ CDL 5;[149] d. of Huineng
Zhida Chanshi 智達禪師	ZJL 98: 943b12–17	d. of Nanyue Huairang
Zhitong → as Gaoseng Shi Zhitong 高僧釋智通	ZJL 98: 942b1–4	→ XGSZ[150]
Zhiyi, see Zhizhe Dashi		
Zhizhe Dashi 智者大師	ZJL 100: 952b29–c7	= Zhiyi 智顗 → *Chengxin lun* 證心論[151]
Zhong Guoshi, see Nanyang Zhong Guoshi		
Zhuangyan Dashi 莊嚴大師	ZJL 1: 419a16–28	Unknown; d. of Hongren
Zhuanming → Gaoseng Shi Zhuanming 高僧釋轉明	ZJL 98: 942a20–21	→ XGSZ 25[152]
Zongmi Chanshi 宗密禪師	ZJL 5: 440b13–24	= Guifeng Zongmi 圭峯宗密
	ZJL 5: 440c15–441a11?	
	ZJL 34: 614a17–617a29	→ *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集[153]
→ *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集	ZJL 5: 442c12–26[154]	
	ZJL 36: 627a9–b9[155]	
	ZJL 81: 865c16 & 866a[156]	
→ Guifeng Heshang 圭峯和尚	ZJL 1: 418b5–10	→ *Chanyuan ji* 禪源集[157]

The list does not include numerous unascribed references to Xiande, Gude, Xiren, and Zushi, mentioned above. Using CBETA to trace references to each of these terms in the *Zongjing lu*, I have enumerated forty references to Xiande, sixty-nine to Gude, fifteen to Xiren, and twenty-seven to Zushi—151 references in total. (See Table 4.2).

References to Gude in particular stand out, as Yanshou often invokes them in his opening words in response to the hypothetical questions that the contents of the *Zongjing lu* are arranged around. While Gude, Xiande, Xiren, and Zushi are not restricted to Chan lineage masters and reflect the broad understanding

TABLE 4.2 References to Gude 古德, Xiande 先德, Xiren, and Zushi 祖師 in the *Zongjing lu* 昔人

Gude 古德	ZJL 3: 430a22
	ZJL 4: 434c26
	ZJL 4: 436c18
	ZJL 6: 445a2
	ZJL 6: 448b21
	ZJL 7: 452b13
	ZJL 9: 463a20
	ZJL 10: 473b20
	ZJL 10: 473c16
	ZJL 12: 482a19
	ZJL 13: 486b1
	ZJL 13: 486b25
	ZJL 18: 510b22
	ZJL 18: 514b5
	ZJL 19: 520c21
	ZJL 22: 536a21
	ZJL 22: 536c6
	ZJL 26: 562b22
	ZJL 26: 565b18
	ZJL 29: 582c13
	ZJL 29: 587a25
	ZJL 30: 594a8
	ZJL 31: 594c25
	ZJL 33: 605b10
	ZJL 34: 613c9
	ZJL 35: 621a3
	ZJL 37: 631b7
	ZJL 37: 633a20
	ZJL 39: 649c13
	ZJL 40: 652c23
	ZJL 45: 683a4
	ZJL 46: 684b10
	ZJL 48: 698b2&5
	ZJL 49: 703a17
	ZJL 50: 711a29
	ZJL 51: 715b15
	ZJL 52: 722b26
	ZJL 52: 723c16
	ZJL 53: 725b3
	ZJL 53: 727b11
	ZJL 54: 729c13
	ZJL 54: 732c27
	ZJL 55: 737c9
	ZJL 56: 738a13
	ZJL 59: 753c8
	ZJL 59: 756b9
	ZJL 61: 762a16
	ZJL 62: 767c9

	ZJL 62: 771b5
	ZJL 67: 792b13
	ZJL 71: 814a2
	ZJL 73: 823c29
	ZJL 76: 836a7
	ZJL 77: 842a18
	ZJL 79: 852b5
	ZJL 80: 858b13
	ZJL 80: 858c14
	ZJL 82: 869c18
	ZJL 83: 874c15
	ZJL 85: 882b21
	ZJL 86: 888a21
	ZJL 89: 900b28
	ZJL 89: 903c14
	ZJL 90: 906b23
	ZJL 91: 910b9
	ZJL 91: 912c16
	ZJL 92: 915b4
	ZJL 92: 917b28
	ZJL 100: 955c14
Xiande 先德	ZJL 1: 417b17
	ZJL 1: 419b17
	ZJL 3: 432c1
	ZJL 4: 434a21
	ZJL 8: 455c3
	ZJL 8: 456a2
	ZJL 9: 463a14
	ZJL 9: 466c20
	ZJL 10: 473a11
	ZJL 10: 473b4
	ZJL 11: 478a10
	ZJL 11: 478a16
	ZJL 12: 480c6
	ZJL 13: 485b7
	ZJL 18: 510b13
	ZJL 18: 511b28
	ZJL 19: 517c26
	ZJL 19: 518c9
	ZJL 26: 564a9
	ZJL 27: 568a23
	ZJL 29: 586a4
	ZJL 29: 586a25
	ZJL 33: 606b29
	ZJL 35: 617b28
	ZJL 35: 619c1
	ZJL 37: 635b28
	ZJL 40: 654a21

(continued)

	ZJL 45: 680a29	
	ZJL 45: 683c20	
	ZJL 71: 812c21	
	ZJL 78: 848a19	
	ZJL 78: 848b12	
	ZJL 79: 850b16	
	ZJL 80: 860a13	
	ZJL 89: 905a6	
	ZJL 90: 909a24	
	ZJL 91: 910b27	
	ZJL 91: 913a19	
	ZJL 100: 954c25	
	ZJL 100: 955c21	
Xiren 昔人	ZJL 7: 451c16	
	ZJL 10: 473b28	
	ZJL 12: 482a2	
	ZJL 18: 511c3	
	ZJL 22: 536b6	
	ZJL 26: 564b12	
	ZJL 27: 569b13	
	ZJL 29: 584a12	
	ZJL 30: 593c9	
	ZJL 35: 619b10	
	ZJL 61: 763b14	
	ZJL 65: 781a25	
	ZJL 67: 795a18	
	ZJL 78: 848a21	
	ZJL 85: 885c14	→ *Jianjin song* 簡金頌
	ZJL 61: 763c27	
	ZJL 61: 764b10	
	ZJL 62: 767c11	
	ZJL 62: 770a6	
	ZJL 66: 790b12	
	ZJL 78: 846a23	
	ZJL 79: 850b15	
	ZJL 79: 852c19	
	ZJL 83: 875a6	
	ZJL 88: 897a28	
	ZJL 90: 906b5	
	ZJL 92: 915c28	
	ZJL 98: 942c29	
Zushi 祖師	ZJL 1: 418a22	Often a ref. to Bodhidharma
	ZJL 1: 418b9	
	ZJL 6: 445b6	
	ZJL 6: 449a9	
	ZJL 9: 466b25	
	ZJL 9: 466c15	

TABLE 4.2 (continued)

	ZJL 19: 520a10	
	ZJL 29: 584a27	
	ZJL 32: 603a19	
	ZJL 34: 612a1	
	ZJL 34: 612b7	
	ZJL 39: 645b27	Ref. to Maming 馬鳴
	ZJL 39: 649c16	
	ZJL 45: 682c5	Ref. to Maming 馬鳴
	ZJL 61: 763c27	
	ZJL 61: 764b10	
	ZJL 62: 767c11	
	ZJL 62: 770a6	
	ZJL 66: 790b12	
	ZJL 78: 846a23	
	ZJL 79: 850b15	
	ZJL 79: 852c19	
	ZJL 83: 875a6	
	ZJL 88: 897a28	
	ZJL 90: 906b5	
	ZJL 92: 915c28	
	ZJL 98: 942c29	

of Chan characteristic of Yanshou, they nonetheless provide a window into Yanshou's Chan worldview. In addition, there are numerous unattributed verses from poems (*shi* 詩) and songs (*ge* 歌) in the *Zongjing lu*. Taking all of these unattributed sources into account, these poems and songs, coupled with the unidentified references to Gude, Xiande, Xiren, and Zushi, represent a potentially large cache of fragments of Chan teachings. Each of these undetermined fragments awaits further painstaking investigation to determine its provenance.

To cite one intriguing example of the potential that such fragments hold, there is the following excerpt attributed to a Former Virtuous One (Xiande) in fascicle 29:[4]

> 如先德云。夫修道之體。自識常身。本來清淨。不生不滅。無有分別。自性圓滿。清淨之心。此是本師。

> As a Former Virtuous One says: "The essence of cultivating the Way is to realize for oneself that at all times the body [mind?] is inherently pure,[5] [and that mind] is neither born nor extinguished, and does not engage in conceptualization. Perfect and complete by nature, this pure mind is the fundamental teacher."

This excerpt is from the *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), attributed to Hongren 弘忍. This text became known

only recently, by virtue of its discovery among the manuscripts recovered from the library cave in Dunhuang.[6] Without the discovery of the *Xiuxin yaolun*, we would have no idea whom to attribute the excerpt in the *Zongjing lu* to. This is a tantalizing suggestion regarding what gems may await in the unattributed *Zongjing lu* fragments.

As significant as the Chan lineage–related sources in the *Zongjing lu* may be, they need to be contextualized within Yanshou's reliance on sources in the *Zongjing lu* as a whole. With this aim in mind, here is an overview of the total number of sources cited in the *Zongjing lu*, followed by their division into Chan and non-Chan categories:[7]

Total number of sources cited: 629
Non-Chan-patriarch sources: 471 (75%)
Chan-patriarch-related sources: 158 (25%)

And here is the total number of individual citations in the *Zongjing lu*, followed by the same division:

Total number of citations: 3,034
Non-Chan-patriarch citations: 2,642 (87%)
Chan-patriarch-related citations: 392 (13%)

In part, the *Zongjing lu*'s failure to cite Chan lineage masters in greater abundance is attributable to the fact that these sources were, for the most part, not yet published. As a result, Chan masters' teachings were not as available, not as well known, and not as authoritative as they would later become. Nevertheless, the difference between the number of sources and number of citations from Chan and non-Chan materials is overwhelming, and exhibits Yanshou's preference for traditional Buddhist over Chan lineage sources.

Chan-related sources include a wide range of materials, ranging from the authored works of Chan masters to their recorded sayings. Which Chan masters were Yanshou most familiar with? Which masters and sources did he exhibit preference for? Table 4.3 lists twenty-two Chan-related sources cited five or more times in the *Zongjing lu*.[8]

Not surprisingly, the "Chan" sources cited by Yanshou include a preference for "scholastic" Chan. By far the most cited Chan master was Niutou Farong, who is cited a total of thirty-three times (including fifteen times as Rong Dashi; and six times each to Niutou Farong's Notes to the *Vimalakīrti* and *Huayan sūtras*). If we add the nine references to the work of Niutou Farong's disciple Niutou Foku (*Wusheng yi*), over 10 percent of all references to Chan faction masters (not including the generic references to Gude, Xiande, etc.) in the *Zongjing lu* are associated with the Niutou lineage. The appearance of the Niutou faction in the

TABLE 4.3 Principle sources of Chan patriarchs cited in the *Zongjing lu* (TABLE 4.3 notes are listed at the end of chapter 4)

Source	Number of citations
Niutou Farong 牛頭法融[1]	33
Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (= Yongjia Zhenjue 永嘉真覺)[2]	23
Fu dashi 傅大士 (= Wuzhou Shanhui 婺州善慧)	21
Pang jushi 龐居士 (Layman Pang)	14
Zhi gong 志公 (Master Zhi) = Baozhi heshang 寶志和尚	13
Xinxin ming 信心銘 (On Believing Mind)	10
Hanshan zi shi 寒山子詩	10
Wusheng yi 無生義 by Niutou Foku 牛頭佛窟	9
Longshu pusa 龍樹菩薩 (Nāgārjuna)	9
Damo dashi 達磨大師 (Bodhidharma)[3]	8
Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价	8
Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠	7
Sixth patriarch (Huineng) 六祖 (慧能)	7
Zongmi 宗密[4]	7
Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一	6
Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運	6
Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海	6
Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然	5

Zongjing lu is attributable to the strong presence of Niutou lineage masters, like Foku, on Mt. Tiantai.[9]

While Linji Yixuan and the Linji faction do not figure prominently in terms of the number of citations in the *Zongjing lu*, Mazu Daoyi's Hongzhou faction does.[10] In addition to six references to Mazu, there are also six references to Huangbo, six references to Baizhang, and fourteen references to Layman Pang, giving the Hongzhou faction significant representation among the Chan lineages in the *Zongjing lu*. The relatively low profile for the Linji faction in the *Zongjing lu* is probably due to the fact that Yanshou compiled his work prior to the rapid ascendancy of Linji faction fortunes in the early Song dynasty. In Yanshou's day, the mantle of Hongzhou-style Chan had yet to pass decisively to the Linji faction, and as a result, it was the Hongzhou faction that represented a significant participant in Chan discourse. The authority of the Mazu and the Hongzhou faction is also keenly felt in the *Zutang ji*, which makes significant effort to associate Zhaoqing Wendeng with Mazu.[11]

References and citations to non-Chan works are far more abundant in the *Zongjing lu*, and reveal the extent of Yanshou's scholastic preferences. Table 4.4 provides a list of thirty-six non-Chan sources cited fifteen times are more, surpassing all but the most frequently cited Chan lineage masters and sources.

TABLE 4.4 Principle non-Chan sources cited in the *Zongjing lu* (TABLE 4.4 notes are listed at the end of chapter 4)

Source	Number of citations
Huayan jing 華嚴經 (Avatāmsaka sūtra; T 10–279)	241
Niepan jing 涅槃經 (Nirvāṇa Sūtra; T 12–375)	132
Fahua jing 法華經 (Lotus Sūtra; T 9–262)	114
Weishi lun 唯識論 (Treatise on Consciousness-Only; T 31–1585)	112
Lengqie jing 楞伽經 (Lankavatāra Sūtra; T 16–670)	80
Da zhidu lun 大智度論 (Treatise on Great Wisdom; T 25–1509)[1]	76
Shoulengyan jing 首楞嚴經 (Śūrangama Sūtra; T 19–945)	65
Weimo jing 維摩經 (Vimālakīrti Sūtra; T 14–475)[2]	61
Qixin lun 起信論 (Awakening of Faith; T 32–1667)[3]	60
Huayan lun 華嚴論 (Treatise on the Huayan Sūtra; T 36–1739)[4]	49
She dasheng lun 攝大乘論 (Mahayana-Samparigraha-Sastra; T 31–1594)	48
Huayan yanyi chao 華嚴演義鈔 (Lectures on the Meaning of the Huayan Sūtra; T 36–1736)[5]	46
Panruo jing 般若經 (Prajñā Sūtra; T 5–220)	44
Tai jiao 台教 (a general reference to Tiantai teaching)	41
Zhao lun 肇論 (Treatises by Sengzhao; T 38–1858)[6]	40
Huayan shu 華嚴疏 (Commentary on the Huayan Sūtra; T 35–1735)[7]	39
Daji jing 大集經 (Collection of Vaipulya Sūtras; T 13–397)[8]	39
Yuga lun 瑜伽論 (Yoga Treatise; T 30–1579)	34
Jingming jing 淨名經 (Vimālakīrti Sūtra; T 14–475)	32
Baoji jing 寶積經 (Treasure Store Sūtra; T 11–310)	32
Zhongguan lun 中觀論 (Treatise on Viewing the Middle; T 30–1564)	29
Qixin lun shu 起信論疏 (Commentary on the Awakening of Faith; T 44–1846)[9]	28
Jingang sanmei jing 金剛三昧經 (Diamond Samādhi Sūtra; T 9–273)	27
Miyan jing 密嚴經 (Gandavyūha Sūtra; T 16–681)	26
(*Mohe*) *zhiguan* (摩訶)止觀 (Mahayana Cessation and Contemplation; T 46–1911)	25
Siyi jing 思益經 (Sūtra on the Benefits of Deliberation; T 15–586)	25
Baozang lun 寶藏論 (Treatise on the Treasure Storehouse; T 45–1857)	22
Yuanjue jing 圓覺經 (Sūtra on Perfect Enlightenment; T 17–842)	20
Ru Lengqie jing 入楞伽經 (Sūtra on Entering Lanka; T 16–671)	20
Baoxing lun 寶性論 (Treatise on the Treasure Nature; T 31–1611)	17
Jingang panruo jing 金剛般若經 (Diamond Prajnaparamita Sūtra; T 8–235)	16
Da pin (panruo) jing 大品般若經 (The Larger Parjnaparamita Sūtra; T 7–220)	16
Shi moheyan lun 釋摩訶衍論 (Buddhist Mahayana Treatise; T 32–1668)	16
Baimen yihai 百門義海 (The Sea of Meanings for the Hundred Gateways [to Huayan]; T 45–1875)	16
Zhuangyan (jing) lun 莊嚴經論 (Treatise on the Adornment Sūtra; T 13–1604)	15
Jingming shu 淨名疏 (Commentary on the Vimālakīrti Sūtra; T 38–1778)[10]	15

One does not have to look far into the list provided in Table 4.4 to see the extent to which Yanshou is indebted to the major scriptures, schools, and traditions of Chinese Buddhism and the relative role Chan appears to play in comparison.[12] The 241 citations from the *Huayan jing* alone represent over

60 percent of all of the Chan-related citations combined.[13] The list demonstrates Yanshou's scholastic competence, his familiarity with the major scriptures and doctrinal commentaries of the Chinese Buddhist tradition.[14]

Yanshou and the Chan Lineages: Chan Masters Listed in *Zongjing Lu* Fascicles 97 and 98

Fascicles 97 and 98 of the *Zongjing lu* contain the highest concentration, by far, of Chan masters in the *Zongjing lu*. A review of this list takes us a long way toward understanding Yanshou's view of Chan movements based primarily on lineage affiliations. Fascicle 97 begins with entries for the seven Buddhas of the past, the conventional list of twenty-seven Indian Chan patriarchs (Bodhidharma, often considered the twenty-eighth, is counted by Yanshou as the first Chinese Chan patriarch), and the standard list of six Chinese patriarchs, ending with Huineng. Following Huineng, relatively lengthy entries are provided for nine additional Chinese masters (in order of appearance): Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓, Mazu Daoyi, Jizhou 吉州 (a.k.a. Qingyuan 青原) Xingsi 行思, Songshan Laoan 嵩山老安 (a.k.a. Huian 慧安), Tripitaka master Jueduo 崛多三藏, Zhice 智策, Nanyue Sida 南嶽思大, Niutou Farong 牛頭法融, and Chan master Fazhao 法照禪師.

Following Fazhao, there is brief mention of several lesser Chan figures in fascicle 97 (in order of appearance): Chan master Fan 梵禪師, Chan master Zang 藏禪師, Chan master Yuan 緣禪師, Chan master An 安禪師 (probably a disciple of Bodhidharma),[15] Chan master Jue 覺禪師, Nun Yuanji 圓寂尼, Chan master Rao 堯禪師, Chan master Lang 朗禪師, Chan master Chou 稠禪師,[16] Chan master Huici 慧慈禪師, and Chan master Huiman 慧滿禪師 (a disciple of Huike).[17] Except for Chan master Chou (Sengchou 僧稠) and Chan master Huiman, these figures are otherwise unknown or little known.[18] Since most of them are identified by only a single name (aside from their titles), identification is especially difficult.[19] Only sparse information regarding their teachings is provided in the *Zongjing lu*, not enough to ascertain the identifications of those not otherwise known. One can speculate that like Chan master An, Sengchou, and Huici, all were early figures associated with the Chan movement prior to the appearance of Dongxin, Hongren, and the East Mountain School, but there is currently no way of affirming or denying such an assumption.

In fascicle 98 of the *Zongjing lu*, there are sixty-three Chan masters (counting Reverend Zhigong, who is listed twice at numbers 1 and 64, only once) with fragments recorded. The following list provides the names of all masters with fragments of teachings recorded in fascicle 98. Following each name is the

page, column, and lines in the *Zongjing lu* where the fragment is found, and information on whom the named person was a disciple of (or in cases where the person has no verified master, the phrase "not applicable"), so as to keep track of implicit lineal affiliations, even where they are not explicitly noted. In some cases, other pertinent information regarding the person, such as having a record devoted to him in collections like the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, is also noted.[20]

1. Reverend Zhigong 志公和尚 (= Baozhi 寶誌) (941c16–20); not applicable.[21]
2. Layman Pang 龐居士 (941c20–23); disciple of Mazu.[22]
3. Hanshan 寒山 (941c23–25); not applicable.[23]
4. Reverend Lanzan 懶瓚和尚 (941c26–942a2); disciple of Puji.[24]
5. Reverend Tengteng 騰騰和尚 (942a2–6); disciple of National Preceptor Laoan.[25]
6. Eminent Monk Shi Faxi 高僧釋法喜 (942a6–7); not applicable, listed in the Chan Practitioners 習禪 section of XGSZ.[26]
7. Eminent Monk Shi Lingrun 高僧釋靈潤 (942a7–13); not applicable, listed in the Exegetes 義解 section of XGSZ.[27]
8. Eminent Monk Shi Fakong 高僧釋法空 (942a13–17); not applicable, listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section of XGSZ.[28]
9. Eminent Monk Shi Jingmai 高僧釋靖邁 (942a17–18); not applicable, unknown.
10. Eminent Monk Shi Tongda 高僧釋通達 (942a19–20); not applicable, listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section of XGSZ.[29]
11. Eminent Monk Shi Zhuanming 高僧釋轉明 (942a20–21); not applicable, listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section of XGSZ.[30]
12. Eminent Monk Shi Daoying 高僧釋道英 (942a21–25); not applicable, listed in the *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳.[31]
13. Eminent Monk Shi Daoshi 高僧釋道世 (942a25–28); not applicable, listed in the Exegetes 義解 section of SGSZ.[32]
14. Chan master Futuo 伏陀禪師 (942a28–b1); unknown.
15. Eminent Monk Shi Zhitong 高僧釋智通 (942b1–4); not applicable, listed in the Chan Practitioners 習禪 section of XGSZ.[33]
16. Eminent Monk Shi Tansui 高僧釋曇遂 (942b4–6); not applicable, listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section of XGSZ.[34]
17. Eminent Monk Reverend Jietuo 高僧解脫和尚 (942b6–12); not applicable, listed in the Chan Practitioners 習禪 section of XGSZ.[35]
18. Reverend Taiyuan 太原和尚 (942b12–18) = Taiyuan Haihu 太原海湖 (?); CDL 16 (T 51.333b); disciple of Jiashan Shanhui.

19. Reverend Tianhuang 天皇和尚 (942b18–24) = Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟; disciple of Shitou Xiqian.
20. Reverend Xingshan 興善和尚 (942b24–c4) = Xingshan Weikuan 興善惟寬 (755–817); disciple of Mazu.
21. Chan master Yong 顒禪師 (942c4–16) = Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 (?); disciple of Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎.
22. Chan master Wolun 臥輪禪師 (942c16–19); unknown.[36]
23. Reverend Nanquan 南泉和尚 (942c19–25) = Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願; disciple of Mazu.
24. Reverend Wuye of Fenzhou 汾州無業和尚 (942c25–943a14); contains dialogue with Mazu Daoyi; disciple of Mazu.[37]
25. Great master Zhenjue 真覺大師 (943a15–24) = Xuanjue 玄覺 (665–713); disciple of Huineng.[38]
26. Reverend Shenxiu 神秀和尚 (943a24–b6); disciple of Hongren.
27. Great Master Ming 命大師, *Rongxin lun* 融心論 (Treatise on Harmonious Mind) (943b6–12);[39] unknown.
28. Chan Master Zhida 智達禪師 (943b12–17); disciple of Nanyue Huairang.[40]
29. Reverend Ganquan 甘泉和尚 (943b18–c4) = Ganquan Zhixian 甘泉志賢 (?); disciple of Mazu Daoyi.
30. Great Master Pu'an 普岸大師 (943c5–8) = Tiantai Pu'an 天台普岸; disciple of Baizhang Huaihai.[41]
31. Reverend Linji 臨濟和尚 (943c8–22); disciple of Huangbo Xiyun.[42]
32. Reverend Guanqi 灌溪和尚 (943c23–24) = Guanqi Zhixian 灌溪志閑; disciple of Linji.[43]
33. Reverend Shitou 石頭和尚 (943c25–29); disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思.
34. Reverend Huangbo 黃蘗和尚 (943c29–944a8); disciple of Baizhang Huaihai.[44]
35. Reverend Danxia 丹霞和尚 (944a9–12) = Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然; disciple of Shitou.
36. Reverend Shuiliao 水潦和尚 (944a12–16) = Hongzhou Shuilao 洪州水老; disciple of Mazu.[45]
37. Reverend Yangshan 仰山和尚 (944a16–19) = Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂; disciple of Guishan 溈山.
38. Reverend Dadian 大顛和尚 (944a19–b1); disciple of Shitou.[46]
39. Reverend Sanping 三平和尚 (944b2–5) = Sanping Yizhong 三平義忠; disciple of Dadian.[47]
40. Reverend Anguo 安國和尚 (944b5–17) = Anguo Xuanting 安國玄挺; disciple of Niutou Zhiwei 牛頭智威 (fifth patriarch of Niutou faction).

41. Reverend Guizong 歸宗和尚 (944b18–22) = Guizong Zhichang 歸宗智常; disciple of Mazu Daoyi.
42. Reverend Dabei 大悲和尚 (944b22–24); disciple of Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然, heir of Linji.
43. Reverend Caotang 草堂和尚 (944b25–28) = Caotang Feixi 草堂飛錫; not applicable, but associated with National Preceptor Huizhong 慧忠 and Chan master Chujin 楚金.[48]
44. Reverend Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海和尚 (944b28–c14); disciple of Mazu Daoyi.[49]
45. Reverend Panshan 盤山和尚 (944c14–20) = Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積; disciple of Mazu Daoyi.[50]
46. Reverend Damei 大梅和尚 (944c20–945a14); disciple of Mazu Daoyi.[51]
47. Reverend Yantou 巖頭和尚 (945a15–18) = Yantou Quanhuo 巖頭全豁; disciple of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑.
48. Reverend Gaocheng 高城和尚 (945a19–27); unknown.
49. Reverend Qianqing 千頃和尚 (945a27–b13) = Qianqing Chunan 千頃楚南; disciple of Huangbo Xiyun.[52]
50. Reverend Weizheng 惟政和尚 (945b13–17) = Baizhang Weizheng 百丈惟政; disciple of Mazu Daoyi.
51. Reverend Zhong of Mt. Niutou 牛頭山忠和尚 (945b17–c4) = Niutou Huizhong 牛頭慧忠; Niutou lineage sixth generation, disciple of Zhiwei 智威.
52. Reverend Jiashan 夾山和尚 (945c4–5) = Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會; disciple of Huating Decheng 華亭德誠.[53]
53. Reverend Daan 大安和尚 (945c5–12) = Fuzhou Daan 福州大安; disciple of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海.[54]
54. Reverend Changsha 長沙和尚 (945c13–18) = Changsha Jingcen 長沙景岑; disciple of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願.[55]
55. Reverend Longya 龍牙和尚 (945c18–946a2) = Longya Judun 龍牙居遁; disciple of Dongshan.[56]
56. Reverend Deshan 德山和尚 (946a3–8) = Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑; disciple of Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信.[57]
57. Niutou descendant, Reverend Foku 牛頭下佛窟和尚 (946a8–b3) = Tiantai Foku 天台佛窟; disciple of Niutou Huizhong (sixth generation).
58. Foku's descendant, Reverend Yunju 佛窟下雲居和尚 (946b4–16) = Tiantai Yunju 天台雲居; disciple of Niutou Foku.
59. Reverend Dazhu 大珠和尚 (946b16–c2) = Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海; disciple of Mazu Daoyi.[58]

60. Reverend Dongshan 洞山和尚 (946c2–11) = Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价; disciple of Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟.[59]
61. Reverend Caoshan 曹山和尚 (946c12–20) = Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂; disciple of Dongshan.
62. Reverend Lingbian 靈辯和尚 (946c20–947a7); unknown.[60]
63. Reverend Yunju 雲居和尚 (947a8–b2) = Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺; disciple of Dongshan.[61]
64. Zhigong 志公 (= Baozhi 寶誌) (947b2–5); not applicable (see Reverend Zhigong, no. 1).

While it is clear that Yanshou advocated an idea of Chan *zong* that was consistent with the larger Buddhist tradition and did not sanction Chan exclusivity based on lineage, it is also clear that Yanshou did not resist the rising tide of Chan factional identities. As this study is interested, in part, in understanding Yanshou's view of Chan in light of future developments, I have charted the Chan lineages implicit in the *Zongjing lu* in light of the factional Chan identities based on lineage taking shape around the same time. I have started with the standard lists of the seven Buddhas of the past, and the Indian and Chinese Chan patriarchs through Huineng (see tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7).

In addition to the standard lists (tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7), the *Zongjing lu* also includes the personages shown in table 4.8, representing early or collateral developments (note that this list derives from Chan masters listed in fascicle 97 of the *Zongjing lu*, considered above).

The *Zongjing lu* also includes a list of "eminent monks" (*gaoseng*), most of whom are known to us from "Biographies of Eminent Monks" (*gaoseng zhuan*) collections (table 4.9). The *gaoseng zhuan* classification of the monk is noted, as available.

Most important for determining Yanshou's conception of Chan in the *Zongjing lu* is his inclusion of Chinese lineage masters. A subsequent chart (see p. 126) shows the development of Chan from Bodhidharma through the

TABLE 4.5 The seven Buddhas of the past

1	Vipassin 毘婆尸佛
2	Sikhin 尸棄佛
3	Vessabhu 毘舍浮佛
4	Kondanna 拘留孫佛
5	Konnagamana 拘那含牟尼佛
6	Kāśyapa 迦葉佛
7	Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛

TABLE 4.6 Indian Chan patriarchs

1	Mahākāśyapa 大迦葉尊者
2	Ānanda 阿難尊者
3	Śanavāsa 商那和修尊者
4	Upagupta 優婆(毛+米+勹)多尊者
5	Dhrtaka 提多迦尊者
6	Miccaka 彌遮迦尊者
7	Vasumitra 婆須密尊者
8	Buddhanandi 佛陀難提尊者
9	Buddhamitra 伏馱密多尊者
10	Pārśva 脇尊者
11	Punyayśas 富那耶奢尊者
12	Aśvaghosa 馬鳴尊者
13	Kapimala 毘羅尊者
14	Nāgārjuna 龍樹尊者
15	Kānadeva 迦那提婆尊者
16	Rāhulata 羅(目+侯)羅尊者
17	Sanghānandi 僧伽難提尊者
18	Gayaśāta 伽耶舍多尊者
19	Kumārata 鳩摩羅多尊者
20	Jayata 闍夜多尊者
21	Vasubandhu 婆修盤頭尊者
22	Manorhita 摩拏羅尊者
23	Haklenayaśas 鶴勒尊者
24	Simha bhikśu 師子尊者
25	Basiasita 婆舍斯多尊者
26	Punyamitra 不如密多尊者
27	Prajñātāra 般若多羅尊者

TABLE 4.7 Chinese patriarchs

1	Bodhidharma 菩提達摩
2	Huike 慧可
3	Sengcan 僧璨
4	Daoxin 道信
5	Hongren 弘忍
6	Huineng 慧能

disciples of Huineng, as revealed in the masters mentioned in *Zongjing lu* fascicles 97 and 98.[62] In addition to the main Chan lineage progression that is generally familiar (i.e. the lineage from Bodhidharma through Huineng), Yanshou acknowledges the Niutou lineage initiated by Daoxin's student Farong, and lineages descending from Hongren (through Laoan and Shenxiu) other than Huineng's. Also charted here are the two major lines of descent from the sixth patriarch, via Xingsi and Shitou and via Huairang and Mazu. These two lines facilitated the growth of Chan's major factions. Yanshou's characterization

TABLE 4.8 Lesser figures representing early or collateral developments (in order listed)

1	Chan master Fan 梵禪師, unknown.
2	Chan master Zang 藏禪師, unknown.
3	Chan master Yuan 緣禪師, unknown.
4	Chan master An 安禪師, disciple of Bodhidharma?
5	Chan master Jue 覺禪師, unknown.
6	Nun Yuanji 圓寂尼, unknown.
7	Chan master Rao 堯禪師, unknown.
8	Chan master Lang 朗禪師, unknown.
9	Chan master Chou 稠禪師 = Sengchou 僧稠.
10	Chan master Huici 慧慈禪師, unknown.
11	Chan master Huiman 慧滿禪師, a disciple of Huike.

TABLE 4.9 Eminent monks 高僧 (in order listed; the *gaoseng* 高僧 appellation appears in the title attributed to each monk) (TABLE 4.9 notes are listed at the end of chapter 4)

1	Shi Faxi 釋法喜, Chan Practitioner 習禪.[1]
2	Shi Lingrun 釋靈潤, Exegete 義解.[2]
3	Shi Fakong 釋法空, Miracle Worker 感通.[3]
4	Shi Jingmai 釋靖邁, unknown.
5	Shi Tongda 釋通達, Miracle Worker 感通.[4]
6	Shi Zhuanming 釋轉明, Miracle Worker 感通.[5]
7	Shi Daoying 釋道英, unknown, appears in *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳.[6]
8	Shi Daoshi 釋道世, Exegete 義解.[7]
9	Shi Zhitong 釋智通, Chan Practitioner 習禪.[8]
10	Shi Tansui 釋曇遂, Miracle Worker 感通.[9]
11	Reverend Jietuo 解脫和尚, Chan Practitioner 習禪.[10]

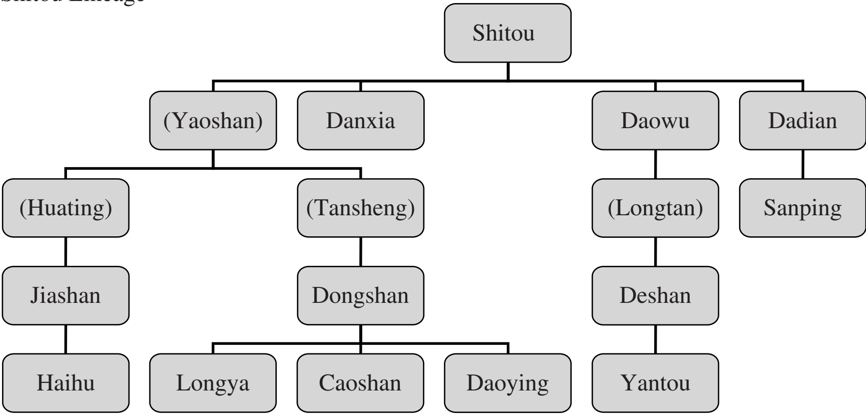
of personages from these factions reveals much about the way he understood Chan, as discussed below. (In cases where the existence of a master is presumed but not actually mentioned in the *Zongjing lu*, the master's name is shown in brackets.)

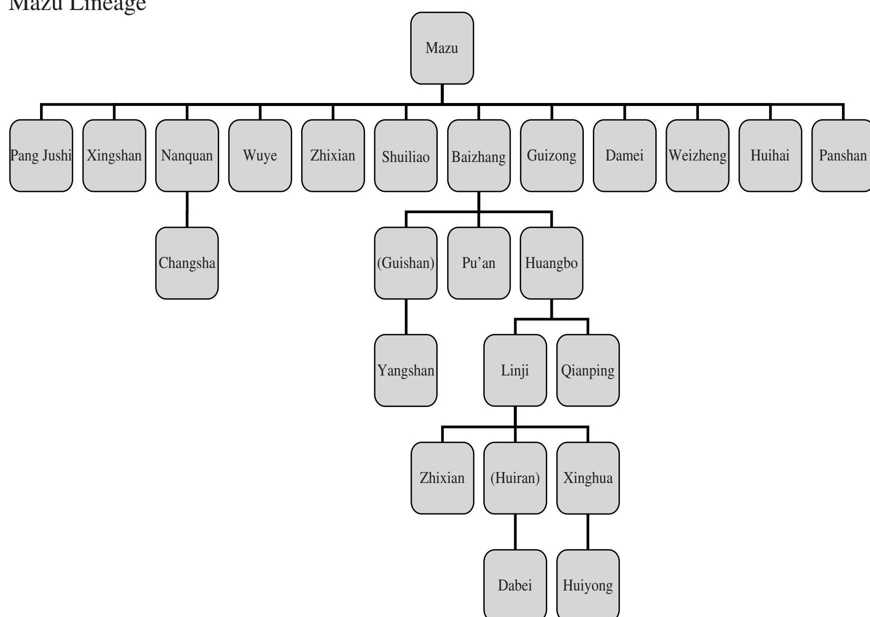
Admittedly, the construction of charts such as these, it may be argued, is hardly in keeping with the spirit of Yanshou's Chan. I do so tentatively, in order to reveal a number of things about the way Yanshou viewed Chan, especially in light of the lineage based identification system that would prevail within Chan in the coming decades. In the first place, these charts shows how tolerant Yanshou was of Chan lineages, even if he did not accept lineage claims as the essential basis of Chan identity. Yanshou accepted, for example, the list of Indian patriarchs standardized in Chan circles since the *Baolin zhuan*. He also accepted at face value the Chinese patriarchy initiated by Bodhidharma and ending with the sixth patriarch, Huineng. There is also an implicit acknowledgement of the

Bodhidharma Lineage

Bodhidharma
Huike
Sengcan
Huiman
Daoxin
Farong (Niutou line)
Hongren
Niutou masters (2 through 4)
Fazhao
Laoan
Huineng
Shenxiu
5. Zhiwei
Tengteng
Xingsi
Jueduo
Xuanjue
Zhice
Sida
Huairang
(Puji)
6. Huizhong
Shitou
Mazu
Zhide
Lanzan
7. Foku
See Shitou Lineage
See Mazu Lineage
8. Yunju

Shitou Lineage





two branches of Chan descended from Huineng's students Huairang and Xingsi. This acknowledgement is made explicit in the arrangement of fascicle 97, which, after the seven Buddhas of the past and the Indian and Chinese patriarchs, includes entries for Huairang and Xingsi immediately following the entry for Huineng. Yanshou thus concurs with the "standard" arrangement of Chan lineage confirmed in contemporary "lamp records," the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Following this, the arrangement of lineages is much less straightforward, and the charts created here are, in effect, superimposed on the material. Having said this, however, it is clear that Yanshou had access to *yulu* or proto-*yulu* materials, the kind that also found their way into the *Zutang ji* and later the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. These materials appear to have had lineage based assumptions built into them, if for no other reason than that they would have derived from regions with specific lineage affiliations. The collection of these materials was, in large part, predicated on the "family" history of these affiliations. While championing Chan as the "mind school" that transcended lineage, Yanshou still built his framework of Chan masters around implicit, if not always acknowledged, lineage affiliations. By admitting the standard list of Indian and Chinese patriarchs, one could argue, Yanshou had no choice but to also concede the importance of lineage associations as a major feature of Chan identity.

Aside from the "standard" lineages featured in the *Zongjing lu*, Yanshou's explicit recognition of other lineages is noteworthy. The Niutou lineage, a prominent collateral branch derived from the fourth patriarch, Daoxin, is prominently represented by the first Niutou lineage master, Farong, and the fifth- through eighth-generation descendants: Zhiwei, (Niutou) Huizhong, Foku, and Yunju.[63] One of the reasons for their recognition is the activity of the seventh- and eighth-generation descendants Foku and Yunju. Both Foku and Yunju were based on Mt. Tiantai, a prominent spiritual center in Yanshou's native Wuyue region.[64]

Another lineage recognized that is not often acknowledged in later Chan lineage documents is the much maligned "Northern School." While Shenxiu became persona non grata in later Chan tradition, he and his Northern School lineage descendant Lanzan, the student of Shenxiu's disciple Puji, are acknowledged as positive contributors to Chan's message in the *Zongjing lu*. Yanshou's acknowledgment of the Northern School is part of his recognition of the contributions of disciples of Hongren other than Huineng. In addition to Shenxiu, Yanshou recognized both Hongren's disciple Laoan and Laoan's student Tengteng, as well as another disciple of Hongren, Fazhao, if the Fazhao here can be identified as Chan master Fazhao of Shuzhou (see below), which seems plausible. Although not appearing in either fascicle 97 or 98, mention should also be made of another alleged disciple of Hongren, Zhuangyan, who played a prominent role in Yanshou's depiction of Chan in fascicle 1 (discussed in chapter 3). Together with the acknowledgement of the Niutou lineage, Yanshou's inclusiveness of a range of the fifth patriarch's disciples places the subsequent dominance of lineages descended through Huineng in a broader context. This strategy was also followed in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, the Chan transmission record that also emanated from the Wuyue region and reflected the inclusive approach adopted in Wuyue Chan circles.[65] Further comparisons between the *Zongjing lu* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu* approaches to Chan are discussed below.

In spite of the recognition of collateral developments and their contribution to the Chan message, prominence in the *Zongjing lu* is given to lineages descended through Xingsi's disciple Shitou and Huairang's disciple Mazu. This is very much in keeping with how other Chan lineage records, the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, depict the development of Chan, and reflects the emergence of Chan lineages tracing themselves from the sixth patriarch. With twelve disciples, a far greater number than anyone else, Mazu is acknowledged as having the most influence. Of Mazu's disciples, Baizhang fostered prominent successors: Yangshan, who would later be regarded as a founder of the Guiyang 潙仰 faction; and Huangbo, who fostered the Linji faction. The Linji faction is

represented as enjoying greatest success, through three lines: through Zhixian; through Dabei, the successor of Huiran, the reputed compiler of the *Linji lu*;[66] and through Linji's student Xinghua, and Xinghua's successor Huiyong.

In comparison, only four disciples of Shitou are acknowledged; of whom one (Yaoshan) is not mentioned explicitly but whose presence is implicit by virtue of the inclusion of two lines of disciples: Jiashan and Taiyuan Haihu, and Dongshan and Caoshan. The latter would eventually be acknowledged as founders of one of the so-called Five Houses of Chan, the Caodong 曹洞 faction. In addition to Caoshan, Dongshan's disciples are represented by Longya and Daoying. Moreover, the significance of another of Shitou's disciples, Daowu, is also acknowledged, as fostering a line including the prominent masters Deshan and Yantou.

If we look at the lineage charts in light of future determinations regarding Chan lineages, it is noteworthy that whereas three of what would later be known as the Five Houses (Guiyang, Linji, and Caodong) of classical Chan are acknowledged, two (Yunmen and Fayan) are not. The failure to acknowledge Yunmen can easily be explained on the basis that the Yunmen faction had yet to achieve the momentum that gave rise to its reputation within Chan circles. Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 passed away in 949, shortly before the *Zongjing lu* was compiled, and Yunmen faction prestige might not have been widely acknowledged.[67] The same could not be true, however, for the Fayan faction, of which Yanshou would be counted as a member in later sources, especially the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Almost equally surprising is the failure to mention Deshan's successor, Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 or any master descended from him. Xuefeng is credited with stimulating a massive Chan movement throughout southern China, extending through three main lines: through Baofu Congzhan 保福從展, the prominent Min region master Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文僜, responsible for compiling the *Zutang ji*; through Zhangqing Huileng 長慶慧稜, another prominent Min region master who produced many disciples; and through Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 and Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 and his illustrious descendants (like Tiantai Deshao and Deshao's heir, Yanshou), who dominated Buddhist developments in the Wuyue region.[68] Moreover, Xuefeng was a fellow disciple of Deshan with Yantou. While Deshan and Yantou are acknowledged (as noted above), Xuefeng is not. While the reasons for the omissions noted here are hard to fathom, they cannot have been unintentional. What might the rationale be for Yanshou's magnanimous viewpoint and willingness to include otherwise marginalized and disparaged factions on the one hand and failure to acknowledge his own faction on the other?

I think the most plausible explanation is that Yanshou refused to recognize a factional or lineage based identity for Fayan. To put it differently, and probably

more akin to Yanshou's own conception, the type of Chan advocated by Yanshou (what I and others have termed "Scholastic Chan") is true Chan, universal in nature. It transcends the predispositions on which factional, regionally based Chan movements are based. While the Fayan faction may also be defined in these terms, it is clear that Yanshou did not see it in this way. The Chan promoted in Wuyue, I think Yanshou would argue, was not regionally determined but universal, and so could not be reduced to the factional dispositions that others aspired to and trumpeted as their unique Chan style.

While a mere four decades separated the compilation of the *Zongjing lu* and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, there is a significant difference in their conceptions of Chan. Some important similarities between the two works were noted above, but the major difference is the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*'s creation of a Fayan faction, and the presumption that this faction possessed the most superior understanding of Chan teaching. Put differently, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and *Zongjing lu* both agree on Wuyue and Fayan faction superiority, but the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* translates this into strictly factional terms.

The loss of Wuyue autonomy shortly after Yanshou's death dealt a fatal blow to Wuyue presumptions of an empire based on Buddhist universalism, of which Yanshou was the main spokesperson. Through the lens of the early Song, Wuyue Chan looked more like another regionally based Chan movement, albeit with its own factional dispositions. However attractive Yanshou's presumptions of Chan universalism were for Wuyue, they were ill suited in the Song milieu, where serious reservations toward Buddhism were frequently voiced among elite literati. While Chan in Wuyue was still vital to the region and exhibited a major influence throughout China, it was necessary to translate this power into a different idiom, and a format more appropriate to the early Song context. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* is the product of this reassessment. It asserts Fayan factional dominance within Chan, but reduces Wuyue Buddhism to the factional terms that were consistently resisted by Wuyue Chan Buddhists up to and including Yanshou. The surviving teachings attributed to Fayan Wenyi and Tiantai Deshao, for example, do nothing but reinforce the message of Chan universalism, and refute the legitimacy of Chan factionalism.[69]

Admittedly unresolved, however, is the question as to why Yanshou refused to cite his own master's teachings in the *Zongjing lu*. Could he not have acknowledged them in the cause of Chan universalism, as he did in citing other major figures associated with the leading schools of Chan scholasticism? Would it not have served his cause to do so? The only speculation I can give on this point is that, no matter how important and influential the masters of Yanshou's region were, they were not prolific authors. Aside from Fayan Wenyi, there is no

evidence that any Fayan faction master other than Yanshou actually wrote anything.[70] Other than Fayan Wenyi, what we know of the so-called Fayan faction teaching is filtered to us through the *denglu* and *yulu* genres. It stands to reason that Tiantai Deshao, who presided over Wuyue Buddhism for many years as "National Preceptor," had a wide impact on Buddhist teaching in the region.[71] But aside from a few fragments recorded in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, we know little of the actual content of his teachings.[72] The fragments of Deshao's teaching in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* reveal a disdain for any notion of Chan based on an alleged independence from doctrinal teaching.[73] Judging from statements by Fayan Wenyi, he, like Yanshou, was quite critical of Chan factionalism.[74] Yanshou's concession to Chan factionalism may be seen as trajectory in the group of masters descended from Fayan toward, first, a rejection of Chan factionalism (as in Fayan Wenyi), and second, an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of Chan factionalism while rejecting it as the primary source of Chan identity (as in the *Zongjing lu*), and finally, the creation of a factional identity as a primary source of Chan legitimacy for the Fayan lineage (as in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*).

TABLE 4.1 Notes

1 Although the ZJL clearly identifies the person here as Baizhang Huihai 百丈慧海, the reference to precipitating the awakening of Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 clearly involves Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海, not Baizhang Huihai (see ZTJ 14: ZBK 537.3–6 and CDL 6: T51.249c–250a).
2 T 51.434b.
3 T 47.134a–b.
4 See ZTJ 17 (ZBK 641–653) and CDL 10 (T 51.274c–275a).
5 Chan master Chou (Sengchou) (480–560) has a record in XGSZ 16. See also *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 742c–d, and especially, Jan Yun-hua, "Seng-chou's Method of *Dhyāna*," in Lancaster and Lai, *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 51–63; and Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 141–144. The fragment attributed to Sengchou in the ZJL (T 48.941b28–c1) is also contained among the fragments of Sengchou's teachings found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, Pelliot no. 3559 (see Jan Yun-hua, "Seng-chou's Method of *Dhyāna*," pp. 52, 60, and 63 n. 36).
6 On Daan, see ZTJ 17 (ZBK 622–627) and CDL 9 (T51.267b–268a).
7 ZBK 626 and T 51.267c.
8 This is probably another name for the *Dacheng rudao sixing* 大乘入道四行, a text that teaches pacification of the mind (*anxin* 安心), attributed to Bodhidharma.
9 ZBK 184–185.
10 According to the *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, *anxin famen* is a technique for pacifying the mind associated with the teaching of the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, which Gunabhādra brought from India and used to foster correct teaching in China. Ashort text of this title is included in the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (T 48–2009: 370a29–c10), though no name is given for the text's author. Yanshou clearly associates it with the teaching of Bodhidharma, as he cites passages from the *Anxin famen* under Bodhidharma's name.
11 See ZTJ 4 (ZBK 159).
12 See ZTJ 4 (ZBK 159).
13 See ZTJ 4 (ZBK 162).
14 Shi Daoshi's record is found in SGSZ 4 (T 50–2061.726c–727a), listed in the Exegetes 義解 section; Daoshi is the compiler of the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T 53–2122).
15 T 51.443a–c.

16 ZBK 555.
17 Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 327b, lists four possibilities for the identification of Facong.
18 Shi Fakong's record is in found in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.665b), listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section; the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.665b21–25.
19 Shi Faxi's record is in XGSZ 19 (T 50–2060.587a–588a), listed in the Chan Practitioners 習禪 section; the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.587c12.
20 There are four other possible identifications for Fazhao; see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 327a.
21 Wuye has records in ZTJ 15 (ZBK 578.11–581.3) and CDL 8 (T 51.257a–b), and has sermon extracts recorded in CDL 28 (T 51.444b–445a); virtually the same lines are found scattered through these sources, see ZBK 579.8–12 and 580.12–14, T 51.257a10–15 and 257b3–7, and T 51.445a2–10.
22 T 51.430a–431a.
23 T 51.456c–457a.
24 Compare *Yanyi chao* (T 36.464c).
25 Admittedly, Chengguan is not a Chan master as typically understood, but he is definitely a Chan master in the mold that Yanshou aspires to. Not only was Chengguan an eclectic thinker whose interests ranged over the gamut of Buddhist teachings, including Vinaya, Sanlun, Tiantai, and Northern School and Southern School Chan, he also provided the framework for formulating Chan teaching in terms of doctrinal Buddhism, a project completed by Zongmi and inherited by Yanshou. Yanshou's dependence on the writings of Chengguan has been noted by Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni oyoboshita Chōkan no chosaku no eikyō nit suite." On Chengguan, see Zhang Wenliang 張文良 (Chō Bunryō). *Chōkan kegon shisō no kenkyū*.
26 *Da fangguang fo huayan jingshu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏演義鈔 (XZJ 5–232: 696b2).
27 T 51.459c.
28 T 51. 459b–c.
29 T 46–1920: 584b20–586a4, 586a29–587a23.
30 T 46–1920: 586a13–16.
31 T 46–1921: 589b19–20, 589c13.
32 T 46–1921: 589c13 and 590a12.
33 T 46–1921: 591c13–16.
34 On the *Guishan jingce*, see Poceski, "*Guishan jingce* and the Ethical Foundations of Chan Practice," and *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, pp. 133–139.
35 Shiina Kōyū, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki no kenkyū*, includes no title by this name.
36 T 48.398b14.
37 T 48. 407c25–27, 27–28.
38 Compare *Yanyi chao* (T 36.262a).
39 See McRae, *Northern School*, p.121 (C).
40 T 48.383.
41 T 48.382a.
42 T 48.379c–380c.
43 T 48.380a.
44 T 48.386b.
45 T 48.380a–b.
46 T 45.637a.
47 T 45.637c–638a.
48 T 45.639b–c.
49 T 45.639b.
50 T 45.637b–c.
51 T 45.637a.
52 T 45.640c–641a.
53 T 45.640b.
54 T 45.639a.
55 T 45.638b–c.
56 For a list of possible Chan monks named Jian, see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 95.
57 For records of Jueduo, see ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 130), CDL 5 (T 51.237a), and SGSZ 10.
58 There are numerous possibilities for Chan masters with the name Lang; see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 381a–b.

59 Lanzan has records in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 106.8–108.1) and SGSZ 19; some of his hymns are included in CDL 30 (T 51.461b–c; his name is listed, as Mingzan, among Puji's heirs at CDL 4: T 51.224c). The lines from the ZJL are cited in CDL 30 (T 51.461b25–27 and 461c1–3).
60 The same citation from Lingbian appears in Yanshou's *Xinpu zhu* 2 (X 63–1231). A Chan master Nanyue Lingbian 南岳靈辯禪師 is mentioned in *Fozu tongji* 24 (T 49–2035.250d17).
61 Shi Lingrun's record is found in XGSZ 15 (T 50–2060.545b–547a), listed in the Exegetes 義解 section; the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.546c28–547a2 and 546b14–18.
62 The ZJL Linji fragment is also recorded in CDL 28; see also the *Linji lu* (T 47.497b–c).
63 Longtan's record is found in ZTJ 5 (ZBK 187–189).
64 Regarding Longya, see Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 1, pp. 122–123, and vol. 2, pp. 519–521. Ui notes the existence of another Longya, Longya Yuanchang 龍牙圓暢 of Tanzhou 潭州, who is mentioned by name alone as a disciple of Mazu Daoyi in CDL 7 (Ui suggests, however, that the CDL mistakes another monk, Masu 馬素 [= Xuansu 玄素?] for Mazu 馬祖, and that Longya Yuanchang is probably the disciple of Masu).
65 T 50.183a–c.
66 T 48.398b.
67 The *Rongxin lun* is no longer extant. According to Enchin's 圓珍 catalogue (T 55–2170.1095b5), the *Rongxin lun* was written by Great Master Hui 惠大師.
68 Nanyue Huisi is also included in CDL 27 (T 51. 431a–c), suggesting that Yanshou was not alone in regarding Huisi a Chan master.
69 Gishin Tokiwa, *Dialogue on the Contemplation Extinguished*, Chinese text on p. 88b, no. 8.
70 See CDL 30 (T 51.457c).
71 ZJL has *Xinxinming* 信心銘, but the citation is to the *Xinming* 心銘; see CDL 30 (T 51.457c).
72 ZJL has *Xinxinming* 信心銘, but the citation is to Farong's *Xinming* 心銘 (T 51.457b).
73 T 51.457c.
74 T 51.457c.
75 Layman Pang has records in ZTJ 15 (ZBK 584.2–586.12) and CDL 8 (T 51.263b–c).
76 Pu'an's record is contained in CDL 9 (T 51.267a); the ZJL fragment is also recorded there.
77 On the *Qianding lu*, see *Zenkoku Kanseki deeta beesu Shiko teiyō* 全國漢籍データベース四庫提要 (kanji.zinbun.kyoto–u.ac.jp/db–machine/. . ./0295001.html); consulted July 14, 2009.
78 See CDL 12 (T 51.292c).
79 Shigong's record is found in ZTJ 14 (ZBK 531–534); the lines from the ZJL are found at ZBK 533.14–534.3.
80 T 51.463b.
81 See CDL 8 (T 51.262c).
82 On Chan master Benjing, see CDL 5 (Zhongwen ed.: 96–99; T 51.242b19–243c13); ZTJ 3 (Yanagida ed.: 1714c–1713c); and SGSZ 8 (T 50.758c12–25, attached to the biography of Zhiwei). There is no mention in any of these sources of the material recorded here in the ZJL.
83 Taiyuan Haihu's record is found in CDL 16 (T 51.333b), but there are other possibilities (see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 231).
84 Shi Tansui's record is found in XGSZ 26 (T 50–2060.672b–c), listed in Miracle Workers 感通 section; the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.672b29–c1.
85 Tengteng has records in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 108.7–109.1) and is mentioned in CDL 4, in the record of Fuxian Renjian 福先仁儉 (T 51.232c); some of his hymns are included in CDL 30 (T 51.461b); the lines from the ZJL are cited, in slightly mixed order, at T 51.461b7–9 and 461b11.
86 T 50.186b–187c.
87 Shi Tongda's record is found in XGSZ 25 (T 50.655b–c), listed among the Miracle Workers 感通 section; the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.655b11–12.
88 T 36, p. 596c.
89 On Wanhui Fayun, see CDL 27 (T 51.433a–b) and SGSZ 17 (T. 50.823c–824c), where he is listed among Dharma Protectors 護法; his lineage affiliation is undetermined.
90 T 48–2018.995c–996a.
91 Other identifications for Weizheng are also possible (see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 4b); Ishii identifies Weizheng as Baizhang Weizheng. Name (only) mentioned in CDL 9 (T 51.264a; as Baizhang Niepan Heshang).
92 He was known for his fondness for reading the ***Niepan jing*** (*Nirvāṇa sūtra*).
93 According to some sources, Weiyan is considered a disciple of Mazu Daoyi.

94 Although Wolun is unknown, there is a Dunhuang ms., the *Kanxin fa* 看心法, attributed to him (see *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 452–453).
95 A two-fascicle text by this name is listed in Enchin's 圓珍 catalogue (T 55–2170.1093c20). Wang Cuiling, "*Sugyōroku* to shūitsu," p. 211, gives this text as an example of the way the ZJL might be used to provide knowledge of nonextant sources.
96 Wuyi Lingmo has records in ZTJ 15 (ZBK 561–565) and CDL 7 (T 51.254b–c).
97 Xiangyan Zhixian has a record in ZTJ 19 (ZBK ed., pp. 700–711).
98 For a list of possible Chan monks named Xiao, see Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 74.
99 T 36–1736: 235a20–23.
100 See CDL 3 (T 51. 221b).
101 T 48.376c.
102 T 48.377a.
103 T 48.376b.
104 T 48.376b.
105 T 48.377a.
106 T 48.376c.
107 T 48.376c.
108 T 48.377a.
109 T 48.376c.
110 T 48.377a.
111 On the *Xuanfu Song*, see Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, p. 403, n. 12.
112 Also found in ZTJ 19 and CDL 11.
113 Yanguan Qi'an has records in CDL 7 (T 51.254a–b), ZTJ 15, and SGSZ 10. For at least a portion of the ZJL entry, see CDL 7 (T 51.254a).
114 Yaoshan Weiyan's (750–834) record is contained in ZTJ 4 (Yanagida ed., 1708c–1705b; ZBK ed. 165.4–181.14), and in CDL 14 (T 51–2076.311b16–312c2). Both sources record the same episode recounted by Yanshou here, with minor variation.
115 This attribution is based on a note in the Yuan edition of the CDL (T 51.456c), but since it is lacking in earlier editions, it is questionable; see the note in the Xinwenfeng edition (Taipei, 1988), p. 624. The verses cited here also appear in the entry for Yibo in CDL 30 (T 51.462a–c; see esp. 462a). That both the ZJL and CDL cite the same verses attributed to Yibo Heshang suggest that a collection of his verses circulated at the time.
116 T 48.396b.
117 T 48.393b–c.
118 T 48.391c.
119 T 48.391c–392a.
120 T 48.391b–c.
121 T 48.389c.
122 T 48.394b.
123 T 48.391b.
124 T 48.390c.
125 T 48.390c–391a.
126 T 48.391b.
127 T 48.396b.
128 T 48.396b.
129 T 48.396b.
130 T 48.396c.
131 T 48.395c.
132 T 48.396a.
133 T 48.396b.
134 T 48.396a.
135 T 48.396c.
136 T 48.396a.
137 T 48.395c.
138 T 48.391b.
139 The identification of Yuankang as Guishan Lingyou's heir is found in the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要; see

Suzuki Tetsuō, *Chūgoku zenshū ninmyō sakuin*, p. 98b.
140 T 51.429c–430a.
141 T 51.449b.
142 T 51.450c.
143 T 51. 450b.
144 T 51.450a.
145 T 51.450b.
146 T 51.450b.
147 T 51.450c.
148 T 51.450c.
149 See CDL 5 (T 51.243c), where Zhice is known as Chan master Xuance 玄策禪師.
150 Shi Zhitong's record is in XGSZ 18 (T 50–2060.577b–578a), in the Chan Practitioners 習禪 section; the lines from the ZJL are at T 50.578a6–9.
151 For the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Chengxin lun*, see *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshu*, vol. 2, pp. 443–444, and Sekiguchi Shindai, *Darumadaishi no kenkyū*, pp. 248–249.
152 Shi Zhuanming's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.652c–653a), listed in the Miracle Workers 感通 section; except for a fragment, the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.653a2–3.
153 T 48.402b–407b.
154 T 48.409a–b.
155 T 48.407b–c.
156 T 48.401b and 409a.
157 T48.400b.

TABLE 4.3 Notes

1 This includes references to works by Farong, like the *Huayan siji*, *Jingming siji*, *Xinming*, and so on (see the list under Niutou Farong).
2 Includes references to works by Yuanjue the *Yongjia ji*, and *Zhengdao ge*.
3 Including references to the *Anxin famen*.
4 Including references to the *Chanyuan ji* 禪原集.

TABLE 4.4 Notes

1 Includes ZJL references to the *Zhi lun* 智論 (twelve references; Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō").
2 Included in this number are thirty-two references to the *Vimālakīrti* in the ZJL under the name *Jingming jing* 淨名經 (Pure Name Sūtra).
3 Regarding the role of the *Awakening of Faith* in the ZJL and in Yanshou's thought, see Ikeda Rosan, "Eimei Enju no Kishinron kenkyū," and "Eimei Enju no kyōgaku to Kishinron," pp. 195–199.
4 Includes ZJL references to *Li zhangzhe lun* 李長者論 (one reference) traceable to the *Huayan yanyi chao* 華嚴演義鈔 (Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō").
5 Includes ZJL references to the *Huayan ji* 華嚴記 (seven references), *Huayan shuchao* 華嚴疏鈔 (one reference), and *Qingliang ji* 清涼記 (ten references), traceable to the *Huayan yanyi chao* 華嚴演義鈔 (Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō").
6 Includes ZJL references to *Zhao gong* 肇公 (fifteen references), *Niepan wuming lun* 涅槃無名論 (two references), *Panruo wuzhi lun* 般若無知論 (two references), *Bu zhenkong lun* 不真空論 (two references), and the *Bu qian lun* 不遷論 (two references); Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō."
7 Includes ZJL references to the *Qingliang shu* 清涼疏 (twelve references) and *Qingliang chao* 清涼鈔 (one reference) traceable to the *Huayan yanyi chao* 華嚴演義鈔 (Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō").
8 Includes ZJL references to *Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 (six references; Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō").
9 Includes sixteen references in the ZJL to the *Qixin lun chao* 起信論鈔.
10 Officially titled *Wei mo jing lueshu* 維摩經略疏.

TABLE 4.9 Notes

1 Shi Faxi's record is in XGSZ 19 (T 50–2060.587a–588a); the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.587c12.

2 Shi Lingrun's record is in XGSZ 15 (T 50–2060.545b–547a); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.546c28–547a2 and 546b14–18.

3 Shi Fakong's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.665b); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.665b21–25.

4 Shi Tongda's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.655b–c); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.655b11–12.

5 Shi Zhuanming's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.652c–653a); except for a fragment, the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.653a2–3.

6 Shi Daoying's record is in *Shenseng zhuan* 5 (T 50–2064.980b–c).

7 Shi Daoshi's record is in SGSZ 4 (T 50–2061.726c–727a); Daoshi is the compiler of the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T 53–2122).

8 Shi Zhitong's record is in XGSZ 18 (T 50–2060.577b–578a); the lines from the ZJL are at T 50.578a6–9.

9 Shi Tansui's record is in XGSZ 26 (T 50–2060.672b–c); the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.672b29–c1.

10 XGSZ 20.

5

The Teachings of the Patriarchs

A Study of Chan Lineage Fragments in the Zongjing Lu

In this chapter, I engage in an extensive analysis of fragments of teachings attributed to Chan lineage masters recorded in the *Zongjing lu*. While the analysis here is not exhaustive, and I have not included every single fragment recorded in the *Zongjing lu*, it is extensive enough to provide grounds for making assertions about not only who Yanshou included (on this, see also chapter 4) but also what kinds of information were recorded and what Yanshou's aims appear to have been. Through comparisons with other, roughly contemporary sources that also recorded fragments of Chan masters' teachings, we are able to understand Yanshou's aims as they appear to contrast with those of other works. While the *Zongjing lu*'s fragments frequently overlap with fragments recorded in other sources, there are cases where the fragments of a Chan master's teachings are unique to the *Zongjing lu*.

The fragments examined here taken primarily from fascicles 1, 97, and 98 of the *Zongjing lu*, fascicles where fragments of Chan lineage master's teachings appear in the greatest abundance. It is significant that Yanshou incorporates the Chan lineage fragments at the beginning and toward the end of his work. In chapter 3, I noted how Yanshou included a discussion of China lineage masters in the opening section of the *Zongjing lu*, by way of acknowledging the important role they play in establishing *zong*, the implicit truth, to which his treatise is devoted.

While my examination focuses on the Chan lineage fragments contained in fascicle 1, it also includes treatment of sources found in fascicles 97 and 98, two fascicles exclusively devoted to the teachings of Chan lineage masters. While the nature of the material in fascicles 97 and 98 invites more extensive and comprehensive treatment, I have been unable to provide this in the current work. I hope that others will be inspired to take up pieces of this large puzzle, and examine individual masters in a focused way. In the meantime, I offer an orientation to the kinds of results that focused examination of the Chan fragments in the *Zongjing lu* yields. To present the findings of this investigation, I have arranged my results thematically, providing examples of each theme. As my investigation was driven by a comparison of the *Zongjing lu* fragments with other relevant sources, the themes reflect this comparison. The themes I will examine are (1) similar fragments (cases where the *Zongjing lu* fragments are common to other sources); (2) alternate fragments (cases where the *Zongjing lu* fragments expose significant differences with other known sources); (3) fragments unique to the *Zongjing lu* (cases where *Zongjing lu* fragments are not found elsewhere and the *Zongjing lu* is our only source);[1] (4) the depiction of Mazu Daoyi and the Hongzhou faction; (5) fragments attributed to more than one master (cases where the same teaching fragment is attributed to two Chan masters); and (6) the inclusion of non-Chan masters in the Chan lineage.

Before I begin the discussion of these themes, I would like to comment on Yanshou's commitment to the inclusion of Chan lineage masters, defined irrefutably as such, in his understanding of Chan *zong*. Previously, I noted how *zong* carries a double meaning for Yanshou, as the "implicit truth" that the entire Buddhist tradition is devoted to, and in terms of lineage claims that form the basis of factional identity in the Chan school. Harmonizing these two aspects of *zong* is one of the aims the *Zongjing lu* is devoted to. Yanshou gives expression to this in his opening remarks to fascicle 97.

> 夫佛教已明。須陳祖意。達佛乘者。皆與了義相應。如法華經云。是人有所思惟籌量言說。皆是佛法。無不真實。亦是先佛經中所說。

> The teachings of the Buddha have already been elucidated. It is necessary to explain the ideas of the patriarchs. [The teachings] of those who master the Buddha-vehicle all complement the perfect meaning of Buddhism [*liaoyi*]. As the *Lotus sūtra* says: "The considerations and evaluations that these people make and the oral explanations that they give are in every case the Buddha-Dharma. There is nothing [they do or say] that is not the truth. [Their explanations] concur with what the former Buddhas taught in the scriptures."[2]

Yanshou then proceeds to cite the gathas of the seven Buddhas of the past, one by one, up to and including Śākyamuni.[3] Except for slight variations in the writing of individual Chinese characters, the verses provided in the *Zongjing lu* are exactly the same as those attributed to the seven Buddhas of the past in the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.[4] Not only had the inclusion of the seven Buddhas of the past in the Chan transmission lineage become standard by this time, the gathas attributed to them had also been uniformly accepted. These are the first surviving works to include the seven Buddhas of the past by name.[5] Following this, Yanshou provides information on the twenty-seven Indian patriarchs (up to Bodhidharma, who is considered below).[6] Yanshou's list concurs with both the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.[7] All three works (the *Zongjing lu*, *Zutang ji*, and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*) are indebted to the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, the first known work to standardize the Chan list of Indian patriarchs.[8] Generally speaking, the *Zongjing lu* presents information on the Indian patriarchs in abbreviated form compared with the other works.[9] The transmission gathas of the patriarchs are an important feature in all these works, and these are rendered consistently throughout.

In the *Zongjing lu*, Bodhidharma is acknowledged in typical Chan fashion for his role in transmitting Chan from India to China. This role is accentuated in the *Zongjing lu*, where Bodhidharma is honored as the first Chinese patriarch rather then the twenty-eighth Indian one. Following Bodhidharma, Yanshou continues to enumerate the first six Chinese patriarchs, through Huineng.[10] This distinguishes the *Zongjing lu* from the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, both of which continue the enumeration of Chinese patriarchs in sequence from their Indian forebears, uninterrupted.[11] Chinese patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Huineng are thus enumerated as numbers 28 through 33 in both the *Zutang ji* and *Jingde Chuandeng lu*, rather than as Chinese patriarchs 1 through 6 as in the *Zongjing lu*. Among these six patriarchs, the entry on Bodhidharma is relatively extensive in the *Zongjing lu*, even compared with that of Huineng.[12] This is largely due to the fact that the *Zongjing lu* entry for Bodhidharma here cites an entire work attributed to him, the *Anxin famen* 安心法門 (Techniques for Pacifying the Mind).[13] As with the entries for the Indian patriarchs, transmission verses stand out as the important feature. Given Yanshou's inclination to cite from the works of Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (see chapter 4), it is noteworthy, but not surprising, that he is specifically mentioned in the entry for the fourth patriarch, Daoxin 道信.[14] Farong is the only nonpatriarch to be mentioned in the entries for the six Chinese patriarchs in the *Zongjing lu*.

Following this standard list of Indian and Chinese patriarchs through Huineng in fascicle 97, Yanshou provides a further list of the Chan masters he considers noteworthy. The names of the Chan masters are as follows (in the

order given, following Huineng): Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷瀼, Mazu Daoyi, Jizhou 吉州 [Qingyuan 青原], Xingsi 行思, Songshan [Hui]an 嵩山慧安 (a.k.a Laoan 老安), Tripitaka master Jueduo 崛多三藏, Zhice 智策, Nanyue Sida 南嶽思大, Niutou Farong, and Fazhao 法照.

Many of these masters figure prominently in the discussion of themes that follows. (In the following, I have used abbreviations instead of full titles of the texts consulted; see the abbreviations list).

Similar Fragments

Not surprisingly, the majority of fragments recorded in the ZJL are also recorded elsewhere. This points to shared sources from which the ZJL, ZTJ, and CDL drew their information. Presumably, notebooks were kept of masters' teachings and activities, and these eventually achieved a standardized form from which all three sources drew. Jinhua Jia notes that "encounter dialogue" types of materials began to appear in the stūpa inscriptions of masters connected to the Hongzhou school as early as the end of the Tang.[15] These, too, presumably drew from compiled notes of masters' teachings for their information. Two nonextant sources from this period, the *Shengzhou ji* 聖胄集 and *Xu Baolin zhuan* 續寶林傳, presumably included portions of Chan masters' teachings, and may very well be common sources from which the ZJL, ZTJ, and CDL drew.[16]

To exemplify the commonality between fragments recorded in the ZJL, ZTJ, and CDL, I turn to the story of Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (750–834), the heir of Nanyue Shitou (a.k.a. Shitou Xiqian) 南嶽石頭, one of two Chan lineages that allegedly survived the Tang.[17] Yaoshan assumes an important presence in the ZJL. He is the first Chan lineage master cited in the ZJL, in fascicle 1, and his entry provokes a long commentary from Yanshou (discussed in detail below) regarding the virtues of viewing Chan lineage transmission as compatible with conventional Buddhist teaching and not independent of it. The story and its commentary address the issue of reading the scriptures, and what value to place on such activity. I begin by citing the ZJL passage and then compare it with the versions in the ZTJ and CDL.

ZJL 1 (T 48. 418A19–22)

只如藥山和尚。一生看大涅槃經。手不釋卷。時有學人問。和尚尋常不許學人看經。和尚為什麼自看。師云。只為遮眼。問。學人還看得不。師云。汝若看。牛皮也須穿。且如西天第一祖師。

It is just like Reverend Yaoshan reading the *Mahaparinirvāṇa sūtra* throughout his life,[18] not letting the volume leave his hand.

At the time, a student asked: "Reverend, you normally do not allow us students to read scriptures. Reverend, why do you yourself read them?"

The master said: "It is simply to close my eyes."

The student asked: "Should students also read [scriptures] or not?"

The master said: "If you read them, you will surely pierce the ox's hide, just like the first patriarch in India."

The ZTJ version (ZTJ 4; ZBK ed. 181.6–8; Yanagida ed., 1705b: 184.6–8) is consistent with the ZJL.

師看經次。僧問。和尚尋常不許人看經。為什麼卻自看經。師曰。我要遮眼。進曰。學人學和尚看經得不。師曰。汝若學我看經牛皮也須穿過

After the master read scriptures, a monk asked: "Reverend, you normally don't allow others to read scriptures. Why is it that you, to the contrary, read scriptures yourself?"

The master said: "I just need to close my eyes."

[The monk] asked further: "Should students follow the reverend's example and read the scriptures?"

The master said: "If you follow my example and read the scriptures, you will surely pierce through the ox's hide."

The CDL version (CDL 14; T 51.312b5–9) is also highly consistent with the ZJL and ZTJ.

師看經。有僧問。和尚尋常不許人看經。為什麼卻自看。師曰。我只圖遮眼。曰某甲學和尚還得也無。師曰。若是汝牛皮也須看透。

The master was reading scriptures. A monk asked: "Reverend, you normally don't allow others to read scriptures. Why is it that you, to the contrary, read them yourself?"

The master answered: "I am simply trying to close my eyes."

The monk asked: "Should I also follow the reverend's example?"

The master answered: "If you do so, you will surely to see through [i.e., penetrate] the ox's hide."

Even though all three versions share a lot in common, in theme as well as in phraseology, there are still differences. The ZJL version is the longest of the three (seventy characters in length, compared with fifty-three for the ZTJ and forty-nine for the CDL), and the ZTJ and CDL exhibit the concision that classic Chan *yulu* and proto-*yulu* texts are famous for. In addition, the ZJL notes the title of the *Mahaparinirvāṇa sūtra* that Yaoshan was reading, as if this were an important detail to the story, while the others do not. It also notes Yaoshan's complete devotion to this scripture, as "throughout his life, it never left his hand." The ZTJ and CDL simply state that Yaoshan was reading scriptures as if it may have been a rather casual activity, and give no indication of type, in keeping with the theme of denunciation of the practice of scripture reading found elsewhere in the ZTJ and CDL. This is a potentially major difference between the ZJL on the one hand and the ZTJ and CDL on the other, a difference that will be explored further below. Still, all three versions conclude with Yaoshan's positive assertion that scripture reading allows one to "pierce the ox's hide," a metaphor for attaining sudden awakening.[19] The ZJL alone, however, equates this awakening with that of Mahākāśyapa, who allegedly initiated the Chan lineage in India after he achieved awakening and received transmission from Śākyamuni.

What is most interesting about the Yaoshan episode is that in spite of its consistency, it evoked very different interpretive strategies. The varying exegetical approaches reveal the implicit hermeneutical assumptions of each work.

The ZTJ continues as follows.

長慶拈問僧。古人遮眼。眼有何過。對者非一。不稱師旨。
自代曰。一翳又作摩生。

Zhangqing raised this story, and asked a student: "The old one closed his eyes. What error did he commit with his eyes?"

Not a single one of the respondents [i.e., the students in attendance] could answer, as they did not understand the point of the master's question.

The master answered for them: "When one has an affliction of the eye, what should one do?"[20]

The CDL continues with an even more concise commentary.

(長慶云。眼有何過。玄覺云。且道長慶會藥山意不會藥山意)

> [Regarding] Zhangqing asking: "What error did [Yaoshan] commit with his eyes?," Xuanjue commented: "I wonder, did Zhangqing understand what Yaoshan meant, or not?"

The commentaries in the ZTJ and CDL are both concise inquiries that directly confront the meaning of the passage involving Yaoshan. Zhangqing refers to Zhangqing Huileng 長慶慧棱 (854–932), a prominent disciple of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存. Xuefeng initiated a number of prominent lineages that flourished during the Five Dynasties period, in the kingdoms of Wuyue, Min 閩, and Nan Tang 南唐. Zhangqing Huileng began his teaching career in 906 at the Zhaoqing 招慶 Monastery in Quanzhou 泉州, where he taught the Min elite.[21] Zhaoqing Monastery is also the site where the ZTJ was compiled in 952, and Zhangqing Huileng's strong ties in the region made him one who was looked to for sagely advice.

Xuanjue is the honorific name granted to Baoci Xingyan 報慈行言 of Jinling 金陵 Monastery in Nan Tang, who was counted among the disciples of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益.[22] One of the aims of the CDL was to showcase the teachings of members of the Fayan lineage.[23] As in the case of the connections between Zhangqing Huileng and the compilers of the ZTJ, Baoci Xingyan had strong ties to the compilers of the CDL, and his comments on previous master's teachings were featured for their sagely acumen. What is interesting about the comments of Baoci Xingyan (as Xuanjue) in the CDL is that they seem to presume familiarity with the fuller version of the comments offered by Zhangqing Huileng in the ZTJ, citing Huileng's question "What error do eyes commit?" as a kind of shorthand reference.

What we have in both the ZTJ and CDL is a kind of questioning, based on "old cases" (*guze* 古則), of the meaning implicit in the teachings of former masters. This kind of questioning in the ZTJ and CDL is widely regarded as a prelude or forerunner to the *gong'an* collections that were compiled during the Song dynasty, and the kind of questioning techniques that were applied to case studies (literally "old" or "public cases," *gong'an*) involving the teachings, activities, and antics of former masters. In what would come to be regarded as typical Chan fashion, the words and deeds of the former masters were held up as exemplary for their indication of enlightened behavior. Later students, through their examination of these cases, sought to penetrate the meaning inherent in them and achieve a sudden insight into the secret message of the patriarchs. The assumption is that the key to awakening lies in the behaviors of the former master, where it is dramatically exhibited, not in the record of the Buddha's teachings or the elaborate commentaries they spawned.

Yanshou's own commentary to the episode involving Yaoshan belongs decidedly in the category of elaborate commentaries, and stands in marked contrast to the terse exchanges in the ZTJ and CDL. Situated in the first fascicle of the ZJL and being the first instance where an episode involving a Chan lineage master is cited, it serves as an avenue for Yanshou to wax eloquently about how Chan masters uphold the scriptural tradition of Buddhism. It is no accident that Yanshou chose this episode to occupy the prominent position it does. I provide here a paraphrase of Yanshou's commentary (ZJL 1; T 48.418a23–b12; for the full version, see fascicle 1 in the translation of the *Zongjing lu*).

Yanshou begins by affirming that Yaoshan's affirmation of the use of scriptures to "pierce the ox's hide" was the method used when the "original master, Śākyamuni Buddha, initiated the transmission to Mahākāśyapa, who became the first patriarch." Yanshou goes on to affirm that this method (i.e., scripture reading) was transmitted from patriarch to patriarch, down to the sixth patriarch in China, Huineng. Rather than the teachings of recent Chan masters, Yanshou cites the words of Śākyamuni to train and instruct disciples, encouraging their practice through Śākyamuni's teachings. The implicit truth (*zong*) is realized through reading the Dharma, not by rushing around in search of it elsewhere. Students should strive to personally realize the message the Buddha imparted (not the message of Chan teachers). This is how students enter the ranks of the patriarchs. According to Yanshou, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six patriarchs in China, as well as Mazu Daoyi, and National Preceptor Nanyang Huizhong, Mazu's disciple Ehu Dayi 餓湖大義, Sikong Benjing, and so on all attained perfect awakening through thorough knowledge of the scriptures and treatises. When they preached to their followers, they always cited real documented evidence (i.e., scriptures) to support what they said, and never speculated unreasonably or expounded falsehoods (in contrast to Chan masters who fail to rely on scriptures). If you regard the words of the Buddha as the true measure, perverse, false claims (made by presumptuous Chan masters) will not deceive you. Using the teachings as your guide, you have trustworthy sources to rely on.

Yanshou then cites Guifeng Zongmi in support of his position:[24]

> It means that the first patriarch of the various schools was Śākyamuni. Scriptures are the word of the Buddha [*foyu*]; Chan is the thought of the Buddha [*foyi*]. There is no difference whatsoever between what the Buddha [thought] with his mind and [uttered] with his mouth. What the patriarchs received from each other is fundamentally what the Buddha personally bequeathed to them. When bodhisattvas composed treatises, from first to last they simply

expanded on the Buddha's scriptures. How can it be otherwise since the patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta, in addition to expanding Chan transmission, were also tripitaka masters?[25] In addition, Aśvaghosa and Nāgārjuna both were Chan patriarchs. They wrote treatises explaining the scriptures, amounting to thousands on ten thousands of verses. They spread the teaching in accordance with actual circumstances, free of any restriction.

In conclusion, Yanshou asserts:[26]

On account of this, [the Dharma] is commonly referred to as a good friend. The Dharma is inevitably necessary for clarifying the words of the Buddha, so that [these words] can be impressed on one's own mind. If one is not made to understand the perfect teaching of the one vehicle, even if one realizes sagehood, it is still not ultimate realization.

One of the interesting things Yanshou does in his commentary is dispute that Hongzhou Chan teaching, represented here by Mazu Daoyi and Ehu Dayi, was antiscripture. Given that Hongzhou Chan served as a rallying point for the antitextual, antinomian tendencies of Song Chan rhetoric, a position established with the prominent place awarded Hongzhou masters in works like the *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Records),[27] Yanshou's counterinterpretation is of great import. Whereas the traditional interpretation upholding Hongzhou Chan in terms of Song Chan orthodoxy has long held sway, I will have occasion to consider the merits of Yanshou's alternate interpretation, one that significantly changes the Chan landscape, in more detail below. For now, I simply point to an apparent discrepancy between Zongmi and Yanshou regarding Hongzhou Chan. Even though Yanshou relies on Zongmi to substantiate his position regarding the essential correspondence between the scripture based schools and Chan, a thorough reading of Zongmi suggests that he acknowledged the radical, antinomian character of Hongzhou Chan, yet tried to harness it by subordinating it to what he considered a superior understanding of Chan, that of his own Heze Chan faction. Yanshou's strategy appears quite different. Instead of acknowledging Hongzhou as a radical, antitextual movement, Yanshou disputes the very character of Hongzhou Chan in terms such as these, and subsumes Hongzhou Chan under the greater umbrella of "true" Chan as understood by Yanshou, that is, Chan that understands the implicit truth (*zong*) in reference to scriptural teaching. By implication, Yanshou seems to be criticizing his contemporaries for misunderstanding the true nature of Chan, and ascribing their understanding to the Hongzhou school.

To leave the commentaries and return to the subject of Yaoshan Weiyan, it is apparent that the compilers of the ZTJ and CDL were not completely comfortable with the image of Yaoshan as a scripture reader who recommended this as a technique for "piercing the ox's hide" to other students. This, of course, contradicts sharply the rhetorical position of Linji Chan orthodoxy in the Song dynasty, for which independence from the scriptural tradition amounted to an article of faith. To read the scriptures might be (and was) tolerated, even required in many instances, but to suggest that this was the method to achieve sudden awakening was beyond what was deemed acceptable. The comment of Xuanjue (Baoci Xingyan) "I wonder, did Zhangqing understand what Yaoshan meant, or not?" already begins to suggest an uncomfortability with Yaoshan's scripture-friendly Chan, and Zhangqing Huileng's apparent affirmation of it. One question remaining is why masters from lineages closely connected to Yanshou's region, descendants of Xuefeng and Fayan, are depicted as following hermeneutical interpretive strategies that contrast so sharply with Yanshou's.

Elsewhere in Yaoshan's record in the ZTJ and CDL, another episode involving Yaoshan and scripture reading is included that ends with less optimism. The episode involves an exchange with his student, Baiyan 柏巖.[28] For the sake of brevity, I cite only the CDL version here (CDL 14; T 51.311b29–c5).[29]

> 師後居澧州藥山。海眾雲會。一日師看經次。柏巖曰。和尚休猱人得也。師卷卻經曰。日頭早晚。曰正當午。師曰。猶有遮箇文彩在。曰某甲無亦無。師曰。汝大殺聰明。曰某甲只恁麼。和尚尊意如何。師曰。我跛跛挈挈百醜千拙且恁麼過。

> The master later on lived on Mt. Yao in Lizhou. The congregation, vast like the sea, gathered like clouds [i.e., in great numbers]. After the master read scriptures an entire day, Baiyan commented: "Reverend, you strictly prohibit others [from reading scriptures] by ridiculing them."
>
> The master folded up the scripture and asked, "What time is it (literally: Is it early or late in the day)?"
>
> [Baiyan] said: "It is just now midday."
>
> The master said: "It seems as if the form of this text (i.e., scripture) is appropriate [at this time]."
>
> [Baiyan] said: "Even the fact that I do not exist does not exist [i.e., How can you say this when even the supposition of a nonexistent "I" does not exist?]."[30]
>
> The master said: "You are extremely intelligent."

> [Baiyan] said: "If I am, indeed, like this, what does this mean for you, reverend?"
>
> The master said: "I clumsily totter along, full of disgrace and utterly inept, passing the time in this way [i.e., reading scriptures]?"

The point is that even when Yanshou cites materials in the ZJL that have commonality with the ZTJ and CDL, the way the contents are understood is quite different. Yaoshan Weiyan, an acknowledged devotee of scripture reading as a primary technique for achieving sudden awakening, was a model Yanshou held up to epitomize this message. For the same reason, Yaoshan's message was problematic to others. While unable to deny Yaoshan's propensity for scripture reading, they could point to other stories (like the one above) that softened its impact. Nevertheless, the stories about Yaoshan's propensity toward scripture reading in the ZTJ and CDL call attention to an ambiguity over this issue in Chan. Later rhetoric that champions the condemnation of scripture reading as a literary trope does so by isolating the alleged positions of the Hongzhou and Linji factions (and like-minded masters from other factions), and privileges these as a cardinal principle of Chan orthodoxy. As mentioned above, Yanshou challenged this interpretation by attacking the assertion that Hongzhou (and, by extension Linji) faction masters, like Mazu Daoyi, actually taught such a message.

Another master for whom fragments recorded in the ZJL have counterparts in the ZTJ and CDL is Nanyang Huizhong. For reasons discussed below, Huizhong assumes great importance for Yanshou, and the ZJL becomes a key source for retrieving Huizhong's lost teachings (see the following section).

Nanyang Huizhong (675?–775) was a master of great importance to the early Chan movement. He was awarded the title "Preceptor of State" (Guoshi 國師) and was personally acquainted with Tang emperors Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–64) and Daizong 代宗 (r. 765–79). He maintained close associations with numerous high-ranking officials, and was noted for his nonsectarian, ecumenical approach to Chan. He was a loyal, nonpartisan advocate of Chan as a movement within the larger Buddhist tradition who was very successful in garnering government support.[31] It is easy to see why Yanshou was attracted to him.

While there seems to be no dispute over Huizhong's status as a Chan master, there was discrepancy in the way that Huizhong's lineage affiliations were acknowledged. Zhaoqing Wendeng 招慶文僜, in whose honor the ZTJ was compiled, regarded Huizhong as the disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi, one of two disciples of the sixth patriarch who allegedly spawned the lineages that survived the Tang dynasty.[32] In the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, Huizhong is regarded as a disciple of the fifth patriarch, Hongren 弘忍.[33] In the ZTJ and

CDL, Huizhong is regarded as the heir of the sixth patriarch, Huineng, and this is the designation the tradition came to accept.

The ambiguity of Huizhong's Chan affiliation is somewhat reminiscent of the controversy surrounding Yanshou's Buddhist affiliation, discussed in chapter 1. While Huizhong's identity as a Chan master seems not to have been disputed, he clearly fit the later lineage based model of Chan transmission with difficulty. The evidence suggest a wide diversity of opinion on where Huizhong should fit in such schemata, ranging from the heir of the fifth patriarch, to the sixth patriarch, to the sixth patriarch's disciple. While Huizhong reputedly lived a long life, a discrepancy of affiliations that includes teachers spanning three generations is hard to fathom. It is likely that Huizhong was not strongly affiliated with any of the three, but his renown was too important to ignore, and lineage based criteria for assigning status demanded that it be acknowledged in this way.

Yanshou's citations of Huizhong's teachings, many of which are not recorded elsewhere, provide no indication of how Yanshou might have situated Huizhong within a Chan lineage schemata. Unlike other Chan lineage masters, Yanshou's references to Huizhong are scattered throughout the ZJL, and not incorporated in a Chan grouping that might implicitly expose a presumed affiliation. The exception to this is fascicle 1, where Huizhong's teachings are prominently presented as exemplary of "true" Chan principles. This suggests Yanshou regarded Huizhong as a Chan master much like himself, who believed in Chan as the fulfillment of the Buddhist tradition and denied any suggestion that it be regarded as a separate or independent tradition.

The existence of a record of Huizhong's teachings is confirmed in the records of the Japanese monk Enchin 円珍 (814–91), who traveled to China and compiled a catalogue of works relating to Buddhism, a work called the *Enchin mokuroku* 円珍目録. In Enchin's catalogue, there appears a title purporting to be the teachings of Huizhong, the *Nanyang [Hui]zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (The Oral Teachings of Reverend Nanyang Huizhong).[34] This is the likely source from which Yanshou drew his material on Huizhong in the ZJL.

Fascicle 1 of the ZJL (T 48.418c11–419a2) contains a long excerpt on Huizhong's view of Chan, a view central to Yanshou's own position.

> 南陽忠國師云。禪宗法者。應依佛語一乘了義。契取本原心地。轉相傳授。與佛道同。不得依於妄情。及不了義教。橫作見解。疑誤後學。俱無利益。縱依師匠領受宗旨。若與了義教相應。即可依行。若不了義教。互不相許。譬如師子身中蟲。自食師子身中肉。非天魔外道。而能破滅佛法矣。

Preceptor of State Nanyang [Hui]zhong said:

Chan school teaching must follow the words of the Buddha [*foyu*], the perfect meaning [*liaoyi*] of the one-vehicle, and tacitly conform to the original mind-ground [*benyuan xindi*]. What [members of the Chan school] transmit, in turn, to each other is the same as what the Buddha taught. It is not obtained by relying on presumptuous attitudes. Moreover, when [members of the Chan school] do not understand the doctrinal teachings, they form views and opinions haphazardly. In their uncertainty they lead future students astray and deprive them of the advantages [the teachings offer]. If only they would trust a [true] master's skill, they would be guided to the principle of implicit truth [*zongzhi*]. If they, through [training with a master], understand the correspondence between [Chan] and doctrinal teaching, they should rely on practice. Without understanding [the correspondence between Chan and] doctrinal teaching, [a true master] will not allow their succession in the Chan lineage. They will be like insects on the body of a lion. While feeding on the flesh of a lion's body is not [as bad as] the demonic way of Mara, it is able to destroy Buddhist teaching.[35]

While there is no counterpart to the ZJL passage cited above recorded in the ZTJ, the CDL (CDL 5; T 51.244b8–10) contains a highly truncated version of it.

師每示眾云。禪宗學者。應遵佛語一乘了義契自心源。不了義者互不相許。如獅子身蟲。

The master [Huizhong] regularly addressed the assembly:

Students of the Chan school must observe the perfect teaching [*liaoyi*] of the one-vehicle that the Buddha spoke of, and tacitly agree with their own original mind. Those who do not understand doctrinal teachings will not be allowed succession in the Chan lineage. They will be like insects on the body of a lion.

Not only is the CDL passage marked by abbreviated length, much of the thrust of Huizhong's point about Chan teaching is diminished in the CDL version.

In the ZJL, Huizhong is quite explicit about his views on Chan—how Chan teaching must correspond to doctrinal teachings, how what Chan masters transmit is the same as what the Buddha taught, and particularly his critique of Chan masters who claim otherwise and lead students astray—in ways that are

echoed by Yanshou. Yanshou's fuller representation of Huizhong's views suggests the important position Huizhong occupies in the assertion of compatibility between Chan and doctrinal teachings. Most scholars credit Zongmi with being the champion of such views who most influenced Yanshou. Zongmi's influence notwithstanding, Yanshou's representation in the ZJL suggests that Huizhong may have had an even stronger influence, and raises the question regarding Huizhong's status as the original impetus for such positions in Chan, including Zongmi's.

Following the sermon extract recorded in fascicle 1 of the ZJL, there is the record of an exchange between Huizhong and a Chan student. The same exchange is contained in the ZTJ and CDL, and the three versions are highly consistent with each other. I begin with a translation of the ZJL account (ZJL 1; T 48.418c17–419a2) and comment on the ZTJ and CDL versions below.[36]

> 時有禪客問曰。阿那箇是佛心。師曰。牆壁瓦礫無情之物。並是佛心。禪客曰。與經大相違也。經云。離牆壁瓦礫無情之物。名為佛性。今云。一切無情之物皆是佛心。未審心之與性。為別不別。師曰。迷人即別。悟人不別。禪客曰。與經又相違也。經云。善男子。心非佛性。佛性是常。心是無常。今云不別。未審此意如何。師曰。汝自依語不依義。譬如寒月結水為冰。及至暖時釋冰成水。衆生迷時結性成心。悟時釋心成性。汝定執無情之物非心者。經不應言三界唯心。故華嚴經云。應觀法界性。一切唯心造。今且問汝。無情之物。為在三界內。為在三界外。為復是心不是心。若非心者。經不應言三界唯心。若是心者。又不應言無性。汝自違經。我不違也。

> At the time, a Chan student asked: "What is the Buddha-mind?"
>
> Master [Huizhong] said: "Things without emotion, like fences and walls, tiles and stones, are all the Buddha-mind."
>
> The Chan student said: "[What you say] completely contradicts the scriptures. The scriptures say: "Inanimate objects, like fences and walls, tiles and stones, are referred to as Buddha-nature."[37] Now, you say that every inanimate object, without exception, is Buddha-mind. You have failed to determine whether mind and nature are different or not."
>
> The master said: "To confused people they are different. To enlightened people they are not different."
>
> The Chan student said: "[What you say] again differs from the scriptures. The scriptures say: "Good sons. Mind is not Buddha-nature. Buddha-nature is permanent. Mind is impermanent."[38] Now,

you say that they are not different. You have not discerned their meaning. Why?"

The master said: "You readily depend on words but do not depend on the meaning.[39] By way of comparison, it is like water freezing to form ice during cold months, and ice thawing to become water when it warms up. When sentient beings are confused, their constrained nature forms mind. When they awaken, their unrestricted mind becomes nature. If inanimate objects have no mind,[40] as you insist, the scriptures would not say the triple realm is mind-only. That is why the *Huayan jing* says: "You must contemplate the nature of the dharma-realm. Everything is the creation of mind-only."[41] Now, I ask you, do inanimate objects exist within the triple realm or outside the triple realm? And further, are they mind or are they not mind? If they are not mind, the scriptures would not say "the triple realm is mind-only."[42] If they are mind, moreover, [the scriptures] would not say "[inanimate objects] do not have [Buddha-]nature." You are the one who contradicts the scriptures. I do not contradict them."

Of the three versions, the CDL is slightly abbreviated, but not in a way that affects the meaning of the passage as a whole. As noted above, the exchange between the Chan student and Nanyang Huizhong follows a sermon delivered by Huizhong that is discussed in the next section. The degree of consistency between the three versions is undoubtedly due to the record of Huizhong's teachings, the *Nanyang [Hui]zhong heshang yanjiao* (The Oral Teachings of Reverend Nanyang Huizhong) that circulated at the time (see above).

What is noteworthy about the exchange between the student and Huizhong is the way it contrasts with exchanges between masters and students in Chan "encounter dialogues." As is well known, the latter are characterized by dramatic exchanges, often punctuated by slaps, shouts, and other forms of surprising behavior. The verbal component of the exchange is often highly truncated, in keeping with the message that normal verbal, or "rational," communication is a mark of ignorance. The exchange with Huizhong here is quite different. Both student and master, in this instant, ask doctrinally sophisticated questions framed in a conventional style, and back up their positions by citing scriptural evidence. This evidentiary style is in keeping with Yanshou's own methodology, as outlined in fascicle 1 in the ZJL (discussed in chapter 2), and contrasts sharply with the emotive style of Chan encounter dialogues.

Another example among the many instances where the ZJL is consistent with materials cited in other sources is the case of Songshan Huian (a.k.a.

Laoan). Songshan Huian was a disciple of the fifth patriarch, Hongren, who was highly regarded in imperial circles. He was awarded the title Preceptor of State (Guoshi) by Empress Wu Zetian 武則天, and was also granted a purple robe and title by Emperor Zhongzong 中宗.[43] Huian's fame was such that in the turmoil over who was Hongren's rightful heir, a disciple declared Laoan the sixth patriarch and himself the seventh.[44] The fragment of his teaching recorded in the ZJL is as follows.[45]

> 嵩山安和尚。昔讓和尚與坦然禪師。在荊州玉泉聽律。二人共相謂言。我聞禪宗。最上佛乘。何必局此小宗。而失大理。遂乃雲遊。博問先知。至嵩山宗和尚處。問。如何是祖師西來意旨。師云。何不問自家意旨。問。他別人意旨作什麼。問。如何是坦然意旨。師云。汝須密作用。問。如何是密作用。伏請指示。師舉視之。二人當時大悟。

> Regarding Reverend [Lao]an of Mt. Song, formerly Reverend [Huai]rang and Chan master Tanran studied Vinaya at Jade Spring [Monastery] in Jingzhou. The two [monks] spoke to each other, "I have heard that the Chan school is the supreme Buddha-vehicle. Why should we limit ourselves to this school of the lesser [vehicle], and miss out on the truth of the great [vehicle]?" As a result, they wandered as itinerant monks, extensively inquiring into what elder monks knew.
>
> When they arrived at Reverend [Laoan]'s place on Mt. Song,[46] [Tanran] asked:[47] "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"
>
> The master [Laoan] said: "Why not ask about your own purpose?"[48]
>
> Tanran asked: "What about the purpose of that other person [i.e. Bodhidharma]?"
>
> [Tanran also] asked: "What is my [Tanran's] purpose?"[49]
>
> Laoan said: "You must make it function on your own."
>
> Tanran asked: "How do I make it function on my own?"
>
> They respectfully requested instruction, and the master pointed it [i.e. the teaching] out to them. At that moment, they both attained great awakening.

The same episode is recorded in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 108.2–6), but without mention of Huairang, with a different beginning and a different ending.

老安國師嗣五祖忍大師。在嵩山。坦然禪師問。如何是祖師西來意旨。師曰。何不問自家意旨。問。他意旨作什麼。進曰。如何是坦然意旨。師曰。汝須密作用。進曰。如何是密作用。師閉目又開目。坦然禪師便悟。

National Preceptor Laoan was the heir of the fifth patriarch, great master [Hong]ren. He lived on Mt. Song.

Chan master Tanran asked him: "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

The master [Laoan] said: "Why not ask about your own purpose?"

Tanran asked: "What about the other meaning (i.e. Bodhidharma's)?"

He [Tanran] further asked: "What is my [Tanran's] purpose?"

Laoan said: "You must make it function on your own."

[Tanran] further asked: "How do I make it function on my own?"

Master [Laoan] closed his eyes and then opened them. Chan master Tanran thereby experienced awakening.

A third version is recorded in CDL 4 (T 51.231c11–15).

有坦然懷讓二人來參。問曰。如何是祖師西來意。師曰。何不問自己意。曰如何是自己意。師曰。當觀密作用。曰如何是密作用。師以目開合示之。然言下知歸更不他適。讓機緣不逗辭往曹谿。

There were two people, Tanran and Huairang, who came to visit [Laoan].[50] They asked: "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

The master [Laoan] said: "Why not ask about your own purpose?"

They asked: "What is our own purpose?"

Laoan said: "You should contemplate how to make it function on your own."

They asked: "How do I make it function on my own?"

Master [Laoan] demonstrated it by opening and closing his eyes.

[Tan]ran knew at once that there was no other master he could go to who would be suitable. [Huai]rang had a deep connection [with Laoan], but did not linger; he bade farewell and left for Caoqi.

All three versions are representative of Chan encounter dialogue. The variations expose the kind of nuance provided through the editorial process. The

three versions are of interest, in particular, for the different endings to the story they provide. Where the ZJL version is prosaic, stating simply that Huairang and Tanran requested instruction and when it was provided, they achieved awakening. The ZTJ ends the story on an enigmatic Chan twist: Laoan simply opens and closes his eyes and this occasions awakening.

The ZJL is the only version that provides a real introduction, explaining what led Huairang and Tanran to seek out Chan teaching (note how Chan teaching is characterized as "the supreme truth of the great vehicle"); the other versions jump right into the dialogue without any real explanation. The ZJL and ZTJ versions are problematic in their presentation of the story—these issues are resolved in the CDL, which represents the most developed and smoothest version. For example, the issue of the main interlocutor, Tanran or Huairang, is vague in the ZJL. In the ZTJ, only Tanran appears and Huairang is not mentioned. In the CDL both appear, and they have individual reactions to their encounter with Laoan. Tanran remains with Laoan and counts Laoan as his master; Huairang departs for Caoqi and the sixth patriarch, to find his Chan destiny. Huairang's link to Huineng, as mentioned above, was momentous for Chan. The influential patriarch Mazu Daoyi is counted among Huairang's heirs, and Mazu's link to the sixth patriarch is via Huairang. Tanran is otherwise unknown.

A final example where the ZJL fragments are common to other sources is the case of Zhice. Zhice was an alleged disciple of the sixth patriarch with a teaching fragment recorded in the ZJL, where he is depicted as a strong supporter of Huineng's style of teaching. The ZJL entry reads as follows.[51]

> 智策和尚。遊行北地。遇見五祖下智隍禪師。二十年修定。師問。在此間作什麼。隍云。入定。師云。入定者。為有心入也。為無心入也。若有心入者。即一切有情悉皆有心。亦合得定。若言無心入者。一切無情亦合得定。隍曰。吾正入定之時。不見有有無之心。師曰。若不見有有無之心。即是常定。不應更有出入。隍無對。卻問。汝師是誰。云六祖。問。汝師以何法為禪定。師曰。妙湛圓寂。體用如如。五陰本空。六塵非有。不出不入。不定不亂。禪性無住。離住禪寂。禪性無生。離生禪想。心如虛空。亦無虛空之量。隍聞此說。未息疑心。遂振錫南行。直往曹谿禮見六祖。祖乃亦如上說。隍於言下大悟。

> Reverend Zhice traveled to places in the north, where he met a disciple of the fifth patriarch, Chan master Zhihuang,[52] who had practiced meditation for twenty years.
>
> The master [Zhice] asked: "What have you been doing during this period?"

[Zhi]huang said: "[I've been] in meditation."

Zhice said: "When you are in meditation, do you engage an existing mind or nonexisting mind? If you engage an existing mind, all sentient existence completely permeates the mind and is also encountered in meditation. If you engage a nonexisting mind, all insentient existence is also encountered in meditation."

Zhihuang said: "When I am properly in meditation, I do not encounter either an existing or a nonexisting mind."

Zhice said: "If you do not encounter either an existing or nonexisting mind, this is constant meditation where you do not experience anything exiting or entering [the mind]."

Zhihuang had no reply. He subsequently asked: "Who is your teacher?"

Zhice said: "The sixth patriarch."

[Zhihuang] asked: "What technique does your teacher use for meditation?"

Zhice said: "When [absorbed in] perfect calm, wondrous and profound, essence and function are as they are. The five aggregates are fundamentally empty; the delusions of the six senses do not exist. There is no exiting and no entering; no certainty and no uncertainty. Since the meditative nature has no attachments, it is free from attachment to meditative calm. Since the meditative nature does not produce anything, it is free from producing meditative states. Since mind is like the void, it too is without content."

When Zhihuang heard this explanation, he put an end to his doubts. Subsequently, he took up his staff and traveled south. He went directly to Caoqi and had a formal meeting with the sixth patriarch. The sixth patriarch explained [his meditation technique] just as it was described above. As soon as the words were uttered, Zhihuang experienced great awakening.

The ZJL fragment is virtually the same as the brief entry for Zhice in the ZTJ.[53] Zhice also has an entry in the CDL, where he is known as Xuance 玄策.[54] As with other cases, the CDL version is a more polished elaboration of the ZJL and ZTJ, indicative of the ways the CDL represents more refined Chan *yulu*. This is perhaps a window into the changes introduced under the editorial supervision of Yang Yi, although this is decidedly speculative, as we have no way of knowing what Daoyuan's original compilation—entitled *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Anthology of the Uniform Practice of Buddhas and Patriarchs) and later changed to *Jingde Chuandeng lu*—looked like.[55] Daoyuan 道原 could conceivably have been

using a different and later version of Xuance's teachings from what was available to Yanshou and the compilers of the ZTJ. The more polished entry in the CDL (T 51.243c15–28), where Zhice is referred to as Xuance, reads as follows.

> 出家遊方屆于河朔。有智隍禪師者。曾謁黃梅五祖。庵居二十年自謂正受。師知隍所得未真。往問曰。汝坐於此作麼。隍曰入定。師曰。汝言入定。有心耶無心耶。若有心者一切蠢動之類皆應得定。若無心者一切草木之流亦合得定。曰我正入定時。則不見有有無之心。師曰。既不見有有無之心。即是常定。何有出入。若有出入則非大定。隍無語良久。問師嗣誰。師曰。我師曹谿六祖。曰六祖以何為禪定。師曰。我師云。夫妙湛圓寂。體用如如。五陰本空。六塵非有。不出不入。不定不亂。禪性無住。離住禪寂。禪性無生。離生禪想。心如虛空。亦無虛空之量。隍聞此說。遂造于曹谿請決疑翳。而祖意與師冥符。隍始開悟。

> When Xuance left home, he traveled until he arrived at Heshuo,[56] where there was a Chan master Zhihuang who had visited the fifth patriarch in Huangmei. He lived in a hut for twenty years, referring to it himself as samâdhi [practice]. Master [Xuance], knowing [Zhi] huang had yet to attain the truth, went to him and asked: "What are you doing sitting here?"
>
> [Zhi]huang replied: "I am in meditation."
>
> Master [Xuance] said: "Though you say you are in meditation, is there an existing mind or a nonexisting mind? If there is an existing mind, all species of vexing things,[57] each and every one, will surely be experienced in meditation. If there is a nonexisting mind, [minor] fluctuations [like those seen] in plant life will also surely be experienced in meditation."
>
> [Zhihuang] responded: "When I am properly in meditation, I do not encounter either an existing or a nonexisting mind."
>
> Xuance said: "If you do not encounter either an existing or nonexisting mind, this is constant meditation. What is there that exits or enters [the mind]? If there is anything exiting or entering, then it is not real meditation."
>
> [Zhi]huang was silent for a long while, and then asked the master: "Who did you inherit [the Dharma] from?"
>
> Master [Xuance] replied: "My master is the sixth patriarch from Caoqi."
>
> [Zhihuang] asked: "What does the sixth patriarch regard as Chan meditation?"

Master [Xuance] replied: "My master [Huineng] says: 'When [absorbed in] 'perfect calm, wondrous and profound, essence and function are as they are. The five aggregates are fundamentally empty; the delusions of the six senses do not exist. There is no exiting and no entering; no certainty and no uncertainty. Since the meditative nature has no attachments, it is free from attachment to meditative calm. Since the meditative nature does not produce anything, it is free from producing meditative states. Since mind is like the void, it too is without content.'"

When Zhihuang heard this explanation, he subsequently made his way to Caoqi to request [the sixth patriarch] to resolve his doubts. When the meaning of the patriarch's [message] tallied perfectly with what Master [Xuance] had told him, [Zhi]huang started to experience awakening.

Another example where the ZJL fragments are consistent with other sources is with Tripitaka master Jueduo (Gupta?). Tripitaka master Jueduo was a native of India and disciple of Huineng. Little is known of him other than what is recorded here.[58] The inclusion of a "triptaka master" among the disciples of the sixth patriarch is, at first glance, odd, given the revulsion heaped on those with canonical expertise in Chan rhetoric. Nonetheless, the depiction of Jueduo in the ZJL is that of a staunch advocate of Southern School Chan over its Northern School rival.[59]

崛多三藏。師因行至太原。定襄縣歷村。見秀大師弟子。結草為庵。獨坐觀心。師問。作什麼。對云。看靜。師曰。看者何人。靜者何物。其僧無對。問。此理如何。乞師指示。師曰。何不自看。何不自靜。師見根性遲迴。乃曰。汝師是誰。對云。秀和尚。師曰。汝師只教此法。為當別有意旨。云。只教某看靜。師曰。西天下劣外道所習之法。此土以為禪宗也。大誤人。其僧問三藏。師是誰。師曰。六祖。又云。正法難聞。汝何不往彼中。其僧聞師示訓。便往曹谿。禮見六祖具陳上事。祖曰。誠如崛多所言。汝何不自看。何不自靜。教誰靜汝。言下大悟。

As for Tripitaka Master Jueduo, when the master traveled to Taiyuan, passing through the villages of Dingxiang county, he saw a disciple of Master [Shen]xiu who wove grass to make a hut, sitting alone [in it] contemplating mind.

Master [Jueduo] asked him: "What are you doing?"

[The disciple] replied: "Viewing purity."

> Jueduo said: "Who is [doing the] viewing? What is purity?"
>
> The monk made no reply. He asked, "What principle is this? Please explain it for me, master."
>
> Jueduo said: "Why not view yourself? Why not purify yourself?"
>
> Jueduo, seeing that [the monk's] capacities were deficient, then asked: "Who is your teacher?"
>
> The monk replied: "Reverend [Shen]xiu."
>
> Jueduo said: "Does your teacher only instruct you in this technique, or does he have other instructions for you?"
>
> The monk said: "He only instructs me to view purity."
>
> Jueduo said: "The technique that you practice is an inferior, unorthodox [method] from India. People in this land who regard it as Chan teaching are greatly mistaken."
>
> The monk asked the Tripitaka master: "Who is your teacher?"
>
> Jueduo said: "The sixth patriarch." He further said: "The True Law is difficult to encounter. Why don't you go to be with him?"
>
> After the monk heard Jueduo's instructions, he went to Caoqi. At his formal meeting with the sixth patriarch, he explained in detail the above events. The patriarch said: "It is truly as Jueduo has said: 'Why not view yourself? Why not purify yourself?' Who [is the one that] instructs you to purify?"
>
> As soon as the words were uttered, [the monk] experienced great awakening.

Versions of this episode are also recorded in the ZTJ and CDL, and the differences are for the most part minor and insignificant.[60] This passage confirms Yanshou's allegiance to the sixth patriarch's teaching over Shenxiu's. While such acceptance had become passé in Chan circles, it is nonetheless interesting given Yanshou's preference for the "gradual" methods, conventional practices, and expedient means associated with Shenxiu's teaching. For example, the ideas expressed in a text like Shenxiu's *Wu fangbian* 五方便 (Five Expedient Means) are readily reflected in Yanshou's writings, especially the *Wanshan tonggui ji*.[61] While Yanshou easily acknowledged Shenxiu's contributions to Chan teaching, the entry on Jueduo here suggests he followed conventional Chan interpretation privileging Huineng's alleged interpetation.

The examples in this section demonstrate instances of a high degree of consistency between the fragments of Chan teachings recorded in the ZJL, ZTJ, and CDL. Even within this consistency, however, different modes of interpretations were noted, highlighting the conventional scripture-based hermeneutical approach favored by Yanshou.

Alternate Fragments

In this section, I give examples of fragments in the ZJL that come from familiar sources, but whose contents differ significantly from known versions. These alternate renderings expose the complex nature of sources before they have reached a stable form. The first example is drawn from fragments attributed to Huineng, whose alleged teachings are recorded in the famous Chan work the *Platform Sūtra*.[62]

> 第六祖慧能大師云。汝等諸人。自心是佛。更莫狐疑。心外更無一法而能建立。皆是自心生萬種法。經云。心生種種法生。其法無二其心亦然。其道清淨。無有諸相。汝莫觀淨。及空其心。此心無一無可取捨。行住坐臥。皆一直心。即是淨土。依吾語者。決定菩提。傳法偈云。心地含諸種。普雨悉皆生。頓悟華情已。菩提果自成。

> The sixth patriarch, the great master Huineng said:
>
> All of you, your own mind is Buddha; there is no need at all for indecision. Apart from mind, there is not a single dharma whatsoever that you can establish.[63] Everything [apart from mind] is the myriad variety of dharmas that your own mind produces. The scriptures say:[64] "When mind arises, all the various dharmas arise." These dharmas are nondual; the mind is so as well. The Way is pure; there are no forms that exist. Do not contemplate purity, but regard the mind as empty. There is not a single thing that this mind cannot accept or reject. Whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, everything [encountered with] a straightforward mind is the Pure Land. Whoever trusts what I say will certainly [attain] bodhi. My Dharma-transmission verse says: "The mind-essence bestows the various kinds [of dharmas]; wherever the universal rain falls, everything grows. With the flower of sudden awakening, the passions cease; the fruit of bodhi fulfills itself.

Yanshou had access to a version of the *Platform Sūtra* circulating in the tenth century different from the one discovered at Dunhuang, which is speculated as being written between 830 and 860.[65] A version of the *Platform Sūtra*, the so-called Huixin 慧欣 manuscript, was issued in 967, but it is no longer extant. Yampolsky believes that later versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, namely the Northern Song editions preserved in the Daijōji 大乘寺 manuscript and Kōshōji 興聖寺 printed edition, were derived from the Huixin manuscript.[66] It is quite likely that

Yanshou had at his disposal a copy of the text on which the Huixin manuscript was based. In any case, the fragment cited by Yanshou bears similarities to the teaching attributed to Huineng in the Yuan (Zongbao 宗寶) edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, the *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶檀經, originally compiled by Qisong 契嵩 in 1056. The Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra* is greatly expanded, and its faithfulness to Qisong's compilation is the subject of some controversy.[67] In the Yuan edition of Qisong's compilation, Huineng asserts:[68]

> 汝等自心是佛，更莫狐疑。外無一物而能建立，皆是本心生萬種法。故經云：『心生種種法生，心滅種種法滅。』
>
> Your own mind is Buddha; there is no need at all for indecision. Apart from mind, there is not a single thing whatsoever that you can rely on. Everything [apart from mind] is the myriad variety of dharmas that your own mind produces. Therefore the scriptures say: "When mind arises, all the various dharmas arise. When mind perishes, all the various dharmas perish."

While Yanshou cites an expanded version of Huineng's teaching, there is significant overlap in the wording employed in both versions, indicating that they share a common source. The Dunhuang version is significantly different.[69] Here, Huineng allegedly says:

> 汝聽。後代迷人。但識眾生即能見佛。若不識眾生覓佛。萬劫不得見也。五今教汝。識眾生見佛。更留見真佛解脫頌。迷即不見佛。悟者即見。法海願聞代代流傳。世世不絕。六祖言。汝聽。吾汝與說。後代世人。若欲覓佛。但識佛心眾生即能識佛即像有眾。離眾生無佛心。
>
> "Listen! If deluded people of later generations only know sentient beings, they will be able to see the Buddha. If they seek the Buddha without knowing sentient beings, they will not see [the Buddha] for ten-thousand aeons. I tell you now, to know sentient beings is to see the Buddha. To this end, I have left you a verse [entitled] 'The Liberation from Seeing the True Buddha.' If you are deluded, you will not see the Buddha. When you awaken, you will see him. Fahai, please listen. Hand the teaching down to successive generations. Do not allow it to be cut off."
>
> The sixth patriarch says: "Listen to what I tell you. If people of later generations wish to seek the Buddha, they [need] only know that the

Buddha-mind [in] sentient beings is able to know the Buddha and, likewise, exists in sentient [beings]. Apart from sentient beings, there is no Buddha-mind."[70]

The Dunhuang version presents Huineng as a more dramatic preacher, delivering a direct message with great sense of urgency to his disciple Fahai 法海. Where the ZJL and Yuan edition portray Huineng as citing scriptures to verify his message, the Dunhuang version has Huineng imparting a verse of his own coinage, a mantra of sorts, for divining the truth that sentient beings are the Buddha.

Another example where the ZJL rendition of Chan fragments is significantly different from known versions is the case of teachings attributed to Niutou Farong.[71]

牛頭融大師絕觀論問云。何者是心。答。六根所觀。並悉是心。問。心若為。答。心寂滅。問。何者為體。答。心為體。問。何者為宗。答。心為宗。問。何者為本。答。心為本。問。若為是定慧雙遊。云。心性寂滅為定。常解寂滅為慧。問。何者是智。云。境起解是智。何者是境。云。自身心性為境。問。何者是舒。云。照用為舒。何者為卷。云。心寂滅。無去來為卷。舒則彌遊法界。卷則定跡難尋。問。何者是法界。云。邊表不可得。名為法界。

A question in the *Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition* by great master Niutou Farong asks: "What is mind?"

Answer: "Whatever is made cognizant through the six sense-organs is, at the same time, all mind."

Question: "What does mind do?"[72]

Answer: "Mind tranquilly extinguishes."

Question: "What is the essence?"

Answer: "Mind is the essence."

Question: "What is the source [*zong*]?"

Answer: "Mind is the source."

Question: "What is the root?"[73]

Answer: "Mind is the root."

Question: "How is it that meditation and wisdom journey together?"

Answer: "The tranquil extinction of the mind-nature is meditation. Constantly understanding tranquil extinction is wisdom."

Question: "What is wisdom?"

Answer: "Understanding how the realm of objects arises is wisdom."

Question: "What is the realm of objects?"
Answer: "One's body and the mind-nature is the realm of objects."
Question: "What is it that reveals it [i.e. the realm of objects]?"
Answer: "Luminous functioning is what reveals it."
Question: "What is it that conceals it?"
Answer: "When mind is tranquilly extinguished, nothing comes and goes—this conceals it. When revealed, [the realm of objects] overflows throughout the dharma-realm. When concealed, the fixed traces [of the realm of objects] are difficult to follow."
Question: "What is the dharma-realm?"
Answer: "The surface appearance [of the realm of objects], though unobtainable, is referred to as the dharma-realm."

Niutou Farong was a disciple of the fourth patriarch, Daoxin, and founder of his own branch of the Chan lineage known as the Niutou (Oxhead) faction. The ZJL fragment is taken from a text attributed to Farong, the *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 (Treatise on the Transcendence of Consciousness).[74] Niutou Farong's *Jueguan lun* was once believed to be the work of Bodhidharma, based on the fact that the titles of two of the six existing Dunhuang manuscripts of the text (Pelliot 2885 and 2045) identify the author as Bodhidharma, and two others (Ishii ms. and Pelliot 2732) title the text *Ruli yuanmen* 入理緣門, based on the names of the master (Ruli) and disciple (Yuanmen) through which the dialogue of the text ensues. Ruli and Yuanmen may presuppose the text attributed to Bodhidharma, the *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (Two Entrances and Four Practices). Thus, according to Yanagida, "the author of the original text of the present edition, possibly Niutou Farong, must have taken into consideration the intent of Bodhidharma's *Two Approaches*."[75]

Except for a vague resemblance to some of the themes contained in the Dunhuang versions of the *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論,[76] the ZJL lines cited here have little relation to these editions. All but a few lines of the text of the *Jueguan lun* cited in the ZTJ have no counterpart to the existing Dunhuang versions. The lines that the ZJL does share in common with the Dunhuang versions reveal a variant form. This suggests that Yanshou was using a different—otherwise unknown to us—version of the text.[77] The contents of the fragment continue the discussion in the ZJL regarding the intricate relation between meditation and wisdom.

Fragments Unique to the ZJL

One important aspect of the ZJL Chan lineage materials is the inclusion of a number of fragments not found elsewhere.[78] In this instance, the ZJL provides

additions to our knowledge of Chan sources. One important master for whom the ZJL provides a number of teaching fragments not found elsewhere is Nanyang Huizhong. The information on Huizhong is particularly important because there is no mention of him in any earlier Chan work, except the ZTJ, compiled shortly before the ZJL, where he has an extensive record.[79]

There are six additional references to Nanyang Huizhong in the ZJL, only one of which is recorded elsewhere—with only slight resemblance to the ZJL version. Arranged according to the order in which they appear in the ZJL, the Huizhong fragments are as follows.

1. ZJL 2 (T 48.424c1–4)

學人問忠國師云。如來說般若。即非般若。是名般若。既盡是非。云何是般若。答。能見非名者是般若。問。佛亦如是說。答。古今不異。得則千佛等心。萬聖同轍。

A student asked National Preceptor [Hui]zhong: "When the Tathāgata preaches about *prajñā*, it is not [real] *prajñā*. When it is named *prajñā*, it is already completely invalidated. What is *prajñā*?"

Huizhong answered: "The ability to see the unnamed is *prajñā*."

The student asked: "Do Buddhas also preach in this manner?"[80]

Huizhong answered: "[The Buddhas] of the past and present are no different. When [*prajñā*] is attained, the thousand Buddhas have the same mind. The myriad sages follow the same pathways."

2. ZJL 14 (T 48.488a10–17)

如學人問忠國師。經云。一切法皆是佛法。殺害還是佛法不。答。一切施為。皆是佛智之用。如人用火。香臭不嫌。亦如其水。淨穢非污。以表佛智也。是知火無分別。蘭艾俱焚。水同上德。方圓任器。所以文殊執劍於瞿曇。鴦掘持刀於釋氏。豈非佛事乎。若心外見法。而生分別。直饒廣作勝妙之事。亦非究竟。

It is comparable to a student who asked National Preceptor [Hui]zhong: "The scriptures say: 'All dharmas, without exception, are the Buddha-dharma.' Is killing [considered] the Buddha-dharma as well?"

Huizhong answered: "All activity that you engage in, without exception, is the functioning of Buddha-wisdom. It is like when a man uses fire—whether aromatic or foul-smelling it is not rejected. It is also

like the water [he uses]—whether clean or dirty it is not refused. This exemplifies Buddha-wisdom. In this case, we know that fire makes no distinctions—the [aromatic] orchid and the [foul-smelling] mugwort are both consumed by fire. Water is analogous to superior virtue—it maximizes its capacity according to the utensil receiving it. That is why Mañjuśrī held up a sword to Gauta[ma],[81] and Anguli[māla] held up his sword to Śākyamuni.[82] How could it not be a Buddhist activity? If you see dharmas apart from mind, you are creating distinctions. Straightaway, engage fully and extensively in activities aimed at wondrous victory [i.e., awakening] and you will never exhaust it."

3. ZJL 41 (T 48.656c24–26)

又有學人請忠國師和尚立義。師云。立了也。學人罔措。被師喝出。非公境界。

Moreover, a student asked National Preceptor [Hui]zhong: "Reverend, establish the meaning."

Huizhong said: "The meaning has been established. Students [such as yourself] manage it badly and are yelled at by their teachers. It is not something established through public debate [literally: it is not in the public, objectified realm]."[83]

4. ZJL 43 (T 48.671b21–26)

如有學人問忠國師云。不作意時。得寂然不。答。若見寂然。即是作意。所以意根難出。動靜皆落法塵。故知並是執見修禪。說病為法。如蒸砂作飯。緣木求魚。費力勞功。[打-丁+ 王]經塵劫。
且經中佛語幽玄。 則義語非文 。不同眾生情見。
麤浮乃文語非義。

There was a student who asked Preceptor of State [Hui]zhong: "Do you attain a state of stillness when you do not create thoughts?"

Huizhong answered: "Observing a state of stillness is itself creating thoughts. That is why it is difficult to eradicate the roots [that produce] thoughts. What activity and stillness [produce] is, without exception, reducible to worldly phenomena. Therefore know that [views about activity and stillness] are both attachments to views about how to

practice meditation. To say that one's illness is the Dharma is comparable to making rice by steaming sand, or catching fish with a tree. You waste your energy and wear yourself out, depending on scriptures for aeons in [the realm of] illusion. Even though the words of the Buddha contained in the scriptures are deep and profound, the meaning expounded is nontextual [i.e., not confined to textual explanations]. [Yet, this nontextual meaning] is not to be confused with the emotional attachments of sentient beings, who float along in vague recognition of it, but for whom textual explanations have no meaning."[84]

5. ZJL 44 (T 48.672B7–12)

如忠國師臨終之時。學人乞師一言。師云。教有明文。依而行之。即無累矣。吾何言哉。如斯殷勤真實付囑。豈局已見。生上慢心。終不妄斥如來無上甘露。不可思議大悲所熏。金口所宣難思聖教。

It is comparable to when National Preceptor [Hui]zhong neared the end of his life, and a student begged the master for a [parting] comment. The master said: "The teaching contains clear compositions [*mingwen*]. If you follow and practice [according to] these, you will never tire. What am I saying? If you exert yourself like this, you truly become a member of a select group. How can [your experience] be limited by already expounded views? When you generate an extremely lackluster mind, do not, in the end, recklessly blame the incomparable sweet dew [i.e., teachings] of the Tathāgata. He cleanses you with unimaginably great compassion.[85] His golden mouth proclaims the teachings of the sages, which are difficult to think about."

6. ZJL 100 (T 48.955A19–22)

如有學人問忠國師。和尚。如何是解脫心。答。解脫心者。本來自有。視之不見。聽之不聞。搏之不得。眾生日用而不知。此之是也。

It is comparable to the student asking Preceptor of State [Hui]zhong: "Reverend, what is the liberated mind?"

The master answered: "The liberated mind inherently exists of itself. Look for it, you won't see it. Listen for it, you won't hear it. Seize

> it, you won't get it. It is active in sentient beings every day, but they don't know it. This is what it is."

The balance between relying on the scriptures and acknowledging their limitations is apparent in Huizhong's comments recorded in fragments 4 and 5. Even though the words of the Buddha contained in the scriptures are deep and profound, according to Huizhong, depending on the scriptures is a waste of energy. The truth expounded is ultimately beyond textual explanations. At the same time, Huizhong insists that the teaching contains clear compositions. If one follows and practices it, one will surely enter the select ranks of the enlightened. This balance between relying on the scriptures as a guideline while not depending on them, looking for the truth the scriptures point to while not reducing the truth to literal descriptions, is one that is also found in Yanshou's own writings, and Huizhong undoubtedly provided a model Yanshou emulated.

Yanshou, in fact, presents a highly nuanced form of Huizhong's position. According to Yanshou, when one attains true awakening, the need for words and explanations (i.e., the scriptures) disappears, yet, at the same time, one will be able to interpret the scriptures effortlessly. Textual explanations are expediencies, like boats and rafts for those passing through the swamp of confusion. Teachers use them to guide people who have lost their way. Ordinarily, claims Yanshou, scriptures are understood as pertaining simply to words and explanations, but in the Perfect Teaching (i.e., the highest teaching of Mahayāna), this is a complete misunderstanding. The scriptures, although written documents, actually liberate one from the disposition imposed by words and letters. Only those who are confused about the true nature of phenomena and focus their minds outwardly to apprehend phenomena end up producing erroneous views expressed in words and letters. As a result, Yanshou sees his task in the *Zongjing lu* as reexamining the function of words and letters, to demonstrate their effectiveness. If one awakens to the inherent origin of phenomena, says Yanshou, one will not resort to viewing phenomena in categories imposed by words and letters but will view them in terms of the subtle minutiae they reveal. Knowing that phenomena derive from the mind's inherent nature, the objects of consciousness and the wisdom that illuminates them will be blended together harmoniously, and phenomenal forms and emptiness will both be eliminated.[86]

In addition to the expansion of our knowledge of teaching fragments allegedly uttered by Nanyang Huizhong, the ZJL also contains fragments from masters who are elsewhere completely unknown and whose teachings are undocumented. It is hard to gauge the significance of such masters, but one, Zhuangyan 莊嚴, was an alleged disciple of the fifth patriarch, Hongren, and is

granted special status in fascicle 1 of the ZJL, where his teachings are considered among a select few Chan masters introduced at the beginning of the work.

Zhuangyan's identity is largely a matter of speculation. In the ZJL, he is mentioned as an heir to the fifth patriarch, Hongren. The CDL lists a Chan master Yuan of Zhuangyan (*Zhuangyan Yuan Chanshi* 莊嚴遠禪師) among the disciples of Nanyang Huizhong, but no record is provided.[87] An abbreviated version of the passages cited in the ZJL also appears in the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集,[88] compiled in the Song dynasty by the monk Fayun 法雲 (1088–1159), also known as Great Master Purun of Jingde Monastery in Suzhou (蘇州景德寺普潤大師).[89] Zhuangyan is also mentioned in a sermon delivered by the Qing dynasty Chan master Zongbao Daodu 宗寶道獨 (1599–1661), recorded in the latter's Dialogue Records.[90] The source for information about Zhuangyan in these later sources (other than, possibly, the mention in CDL) would appear to be the ZJL, making the ZJL the only available source of information regarding Zhuangyan's teachings. The fragment pertaining to Zhuangyan in the ZJL (ZJL 1; T 48.419a17–28) is as follows.

> 五祖下莊嚴大師。一生示徒。唯舉維摩經寶積長者讚佛頌末四句云。不著世間如蓮華。常善入於空寂行。達諸法相無罣礙。稽首如空無所依。學人問云。此是佛語。欲得和尚自語。師云。佛語即我語。我語即佛語。是故初祖西來。創行禪道。欲傳心印。須假佛經。以楞伽為證明。知教門之所自。遂得外人息謗。內學稟承。祖胤大興玄風廣被。是以初心始學之者。未自省發已前。若非聖教正宗。憑何修行進道。設不自生妄見。亦乃盡值邪師。故云。我眼本正。因師故邪。西天九十六種執見之徒。皆是斯類。故知木匪繩而靡直。理非教而不圓。

> The great master Zhuangyan, a descendant of the fifth patriarch, throughout his life told students:
>
> I only recommend to you the four verses at the end of the poem in praise of the Buddha by the [son] of the elder Jeweled Accumulation in the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*:
>
> Free of worldly attachments, like the lotus blossom,
> Constantly you move within the realm of emptiness and tranquility;
> You have mastered the marks of all phenomena, no blocks or hindrances;
> Like the sky, you lean on nothing—we bow our heads![91]
>
> A student asked: "These are the Buddha's words.[92] We want to obtain the Reverend's own words."

> Master [Zhuangyan] said: "The Buddha's words are my words. My words are the Buddha's words. The reason why the first patriarch [Bodhidharma] came from the West was to establish and implement Chan teaching [*chandao*]. In his desire to transmit the mind-seal [*xinyin*], he provisionally made use of Buddhist scriptures. He used the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to verify and clarify [his message]. He knew the scriptural sources [*jiaomen*] from which his own message derived. Subsequently, he got non-Buddhists to stop slandering Chan, and students of Buddhism to accept Chan. The patriarchs inherited [his message] and Chan flourished greatly; his sublime style was widely accepted."
>
> On account of this, if those beginners commencing their studies, at a point prior to initiating self-reflection themselves, deny the implicit truth [*zhengzong*] of the sage's teaching [i.e., the scriptures], what practices will they rely on for their progress? Even if they do not conceive erroneous views themselves, they will still encounter heterodox teachers wherever they go. As a result, I look to the original truth [*benzheng*] [i.e., the scriptures], because what [other] teachers convey is erroneous. The followers of the ninety-six kinds of attachment to [erroneous] views in India were all of a similar type [to these teachers]. Therefore, even when they know the methods for rectifying behavior,[93] they do not readily apply them. Without [doctrinal] teachings [*jiao*], [Chan] principles [*li*] are incomplete.

This is an important passage for Yanshou. It is further suggestive of an alternative, scripture-friendly message emanating from none other than a disciple of the fifth patriarch. As such, it tempers the more commonly accepted view of Huineng recorded in the *Platform Sūtra* that true cultivation takes meditation and wisdom as its basis, and renders scriptural studies superfluous (with the exception of the *Diamond Sūtra*).[94] For Yanshou, of course, Huineng's message in the *Platform Sūtra* does not follow the interpretation commonly attributed to Huineng. Yanshou also cites Huineng in the ZJL in what appears to be a typically "Chan" fashion, where Huineng claims: "Original nature itself possesses the wisdom of *prajñā*. By activating this wisdom on one's own, one contemplates and illuminates [this nature]. There is no need to depend on written words,"[95] but it is useful to note that Yanshou's citation follows a passage in the *Platform Sūtra* acknowledging the value of the *Diamond Sūtra* for precipitating awakening: "Should a person of the Mahayana hear the Diamond Sūtra, his mind will open and he will gain awakening."[96]

Yanshou's commentary to Zhuangyan's statements reinforces Yanshou's primary message that without doctrinal teachings, Chan principles are incomplete. In Yanshou's commentary, he groups Zhuangyan with the other seminal Chan masters featured in fascicle 1 of the ZJL—Yaoshan Weiyan, Mazu Daoyi, Nanyang Huizhong, Ehu Dayi, and Sikong Benjing—among the limited number of important "good friends," masters of true Chan teaching (*zongshi* 宗師).[97] According to Yanshou,

> All [true Chan masters] without exception, each and every one, refer extensively to the scriptures to reveal the intentions of the Buddha in every possible way. Therefore, the transmission of these texts ensures the preservation of Buddhism for posterity; it will not cause the downfall of the Chan style [*jiafeng*]. If it were not so, how could Buddhism have continued to flourish up to now? Such is the power of Buddhist teaching. The results it demonstrates are real, not fictitious.[98]

The only way to truly investigate Buddhism, Yanshou claims, is to read extensively from the treasure storehouse of Buddhist scriptures (*baozang*). Every scripture compels us to understand the truth about our own selves. One should not simply cling to written texts as the highest meaning, however, and form artificial views based on the words contained in the scriptures, but should seek out the message the words impart and tacitly unite with original implicit truth (*benzong*). Only at this point, Yanshou asserts, has one achieved a wisdom that does not depend on any teacher (*wushi zhi zhi* 無師之智)—the way of heavenly truth (*tianzhen zhi dao* 天真之道) is no longer obscure.[99]

Sikong Benjing, an alleged disciple of Huineng, is another master who, for Yanshou, exemplifies reliance on scriptures to ascertain the true nature of reality.[100] In the first fascicle of the ZJL (T 48.419a10–16), Yanshou cites Sikong Benjing as follows.

> 思空山本淨禪師。語京城諸大德云。汝莫執心。此心皆因前塵而有。如鏡中像。無體可得。若執實有者。則失本原。常無自性。圓覺經云。妄認四大為自身相。六塵緣影為自心相。楞伽經云。不了心及緣。則生二妄想。了心及境界。妄想則不生。維摩經云。法非見聞覺知。且引三經。證斯真實。

> Chan master Benjing of Mt. Sikong told the great virtuous ones of the capital:[101]
>
> You must not grasp mind. This mind exists completely because of what appears to the senses. Like images in a mirror, there is no

essence that can be obtained. If you grasp them as really existing, you are mistaken about their root origin and constantly deny their [true] inherent nature.

The *Scripture on Perfect Enlightenment* says: "You falsely acknowledge the four elements as the form of your own body, and images conditioned by the six senses as the forms of your own mind."[102]

The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "If you do not understand mind and conditions, then you produce erroneous conceptions [based on] duality. If you understand mind and the realm of objects, erroneous conceptions do not arise."[103]

The *Vimālakīrti sūtra* says: "Phenomena do not see, hear, feel, or know."[104]

[Benjing] thus cited from the three scriptures to ascertain the [nature of] true reality referred to here.

This ZJL passage does not appear elsewhere, making it an additional source for our knowledge of Benjing. The entries on Benjing in the ZTJ and CDL do concur, however, on his propensity to cite scriptures.[105]

Depiction of Mazu Daoyi and the Hongzhou Faction

Mazu Daoyi, the founder of the Hongzhou faction, was a major figure in the Chan tradition.[106] He is especially credited with the unique Chan innovation known as "encounter dialogue." "Encounter dialogues" (*jiyuan wenda* 機緣問答) constituted one of the unique features of Chan *yulu*, and served as a defining feature of the Chan movement.[107] Until recently, it was commonly assumed that *yulu* and encounter dialogue were the products of a unique Tang Chan culture, initiated by masters hailing from Chan's so-called golden age.[108] In my recent work on the *Linji lu*, I exposed how dialogue records attributed to Linji were shaped over time into typical encounter dialogue events that did not reach full form until the early Song.[109] More pointedly, regarding Mazu, Mario Poceski has shown how his reputation as an iconoclast derives from later sources.[110] Morten Schlütter points out that in earlier sources, Mazu "appears as a rather sedate and deliberate champion of the doctrine of innate Buddha-nature," and his record in the ZTJ gives a decidedly less iconoclastic picture than in later sources.[111] The view of Mazu as a conventional sermonizer is borne out in the depiction of him in the ZJL, where Mazu appears as a scripture-friendly exegete, citing canonical passages at every turn and spinning at times elaborate commentaries around them. In this section, I examine ways

the ZJL Chan fragments shed light on the encounter dialogue formation process, using Mazu as an example.

The writings of Zongmi acknowledge the Hongzhou faction as the principle rival for Chan supremacy. In spite of the rather tame, prosaic character of the teachings attributed to Hongzhou masters like Mazu in early sources, Yanshou acknowledged what must have been a growing trend to reinterpret Mazu as an iconoclast. The ZJL was written, in part, to counter this trend and preserve Mazu's status as an advocate of Chan's compatibility with doctrinal teachings.

This line of argument represents a significant change in our understanding of Yanshou and his position in the development of Chan. Previously, when Mazu was assumed to be the champion of "radical" Chan, characterized by an aggressive antinomian posturing, Yanshou's characterization of Mazu was deemed an anachronistic fancy, wishful thinking regarding who Yanshu would like Mazu to be but a far cry from who Mazu actually was. The discovery of the ZTJ in the twentieth century, coupled with a more nuanced text-critical approach to the sources of Mazu's teachings, has reshaped our understanding of Mazu along the lines described above, and made us more aware of the forces in the later Chan tradition that animated Mazu as champion of Chan iconoclasm. This makes a reevaluation of Yanshou's characterization of Mazu both timely and significant. This is not to suggest that Yanshou's depiction of Mazu is unbiased, or lacking in motivations close to Yanshou's own heart. It does suggest that Yanshou's characterization should not be casually discarded as irrelevant, but should be entertained as a further piece in our understanding of Mazu and the pressures influencing how he came to interpreted within the Chan community.

As mentioned previously, Yanshou sought to undermine the threat that Linji faction interpretation of Hongzhou Chan teaching posed by disputing its very basis. In the eyes of Yanshou, Mazu Daoyi and other Hongzhou faction masters, like any other Chan master worthy of the name, relied on scripturally based doctrinal teachings to promote Chan principles. On the basis of this, the suggestion that the Mazu and the Hongzhou faction stood for an interpretation of Chan independent of the scriptures and doctrinally based Buddhist practices was untenable. In fascicle 1 of the ZJL, Yanshou quotes Mazu as follows. Following the ZJL extract are versions of the same fragment recorded in ZTJ and CDL.

ZJL 1 (T 48.418b13–c10)

洪州馬祖大師云。達磨大師從南天竺國來。唯傳大乘一心之法。以楞伽經印眾生心。恐不信此一心之法。楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

The great master Mazu of Hongzhou said:[112]

When the great master Bodhidharma arrived from southern India, he transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind [*yixin*] exclusively. He used the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to certify the minds of sentient beings, fearing that they would not believe this teaching on universal mind. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*], and 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate."

ZTJ 14 (ZBK ED. 514.4–8; YANAGIDA ED. 1649:33.4–8)

每謂眾曰。汝今各信自心是佛。此心即是佛心。是故達磨大師從南天竺國來。傳上乘一心之法。令汝開悟。又數引楞伽經文。以印眾生心地。恐汝顛倒不自信。此一心之法。各各有之。故楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

[Mazu] daily addressed the assembly:

Each of you should believe that your own mind is Buddha. This mind itself is Buddha mind. This is the reason the great master Bodhidharma came from southern India—to transmit the superior vehicle teaching of universal mind so that it can inspire awakening in you. Moreover, he frequently cited the text of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in order to imprint it deep in the minds of sentient beings, fearing that you, in your confusion, would not believe for yourself that each of you possesses this teaching on universal mind. Thus, the *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*], and 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate."

CDL 6 (T 51–2076.246A4–9)

一日謂眾曰。汝等諸人各信自心是佛。此心即是佛心。達磨大師從南天竺國來。躬至中華。傳上乘一心之法。令汝等開悟。又引楞伽經文。以印眾生心地。恐汝顛倒不自信。此心之法各各有之。故楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

One day [Mazu] addressed the assembly:

Each and all of you should believe that your own mind is Buddha. This mind itself is Buddha mind. The great master Bodhidharma

> arrived in China from southern India in person to transmit the superior vehicle teaching of universal mind so that it can inspire awakening in all of you. Moreover, he cited the text of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in order to imprint it deep in the minds of sentient beings, fearing that you, in your confusion, would not believe for yourself that each of you possesses this teaching on mind. Thus, the *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*], and 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate."

Even though the ZJL fragment is shorter than those of the ZTJ and CDL, the message is essentially the same—the reason Bodhidharma came from India was to impart the superior vehicle of universal mind. He cited the *Lankavatāra sūtra* as the means to imprint this message on the minds of sentient beings.[113] The message is consistent with Yanshou's view of scripture-dependent Chan. The goal is to realize universal mind, the implicit truth; scriptural teachings are the guide to this realization.

The most likely source for all three versions of this episode, and the reason for their consistency, was a "book of sayings" (*yuben* 語本) that Mazu's students compiled following his death.[114] The "book of sayings," no longer extant, reportedly contained interesting events in Mazu's life, and undoubtedly, a record of some of his teachings. This was likely a common source from which the ZJL, ZTJ, and CDL all drew. The *yuben* genre seems to have been a phenomenon of the Hongzhou faction; other factions tended to collect their master's records as "oral teachings" (*yanjiao* 言教). In either case, the records and teachings collected were later compiled under the standard rubric of "records of sayings" (*yulu*).[115] With minor variation, the CDL version was incorporated in the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄, where it assumed standard form.[116]

Following Mazu's teaching extract, the ZJL continues with a long commentary attributed to Mazu, beginning with a focus on the meaning of the key *Lankavatāra sūtra* passage "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*], and 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate." Because of its importance for resituating our understanding of the type of Chan master Mazu was, I have cited the commentary in full. Because of its length and for the sake of comparison with other sources, I have broken the commentary into four sections.[117]

1

> 何故佛語心為宗。佛語心者。即心即佛。今語即是心語。故云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門者。達本性空。更無一法。性自是門。性無

有相。亦無有門。故云。無門為法門。亦名空門。亦名色門。何以故。空是法性空。色是法性色。無形相故。謂之空。知見無盡故。謂之色。

Why does [the *Lankavatāra sūtra* say] "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth?" As for "the mind that the Buddha spoke of," mind is Buddha. The words [I utter] right now are mind-words. That is why "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth." As for "gatelessness is the dharma-gate," when one understands the emptiness of the inherent nature [of things] [*benxing*], there is not a single dharma whatsoever. Nature itself is the gateway. But because nature has no form and there is no gateway [to access it], [the *sūtra*] says "'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate." Why is it also known as the "gate of emptiness [*kongmen*]," and as the "gate of physical forms" [*semen*]? Emptiness refers to the emptiness of the dharma-nature; physical forms refer to the physical forms of the dharma-nature. Because the dharma-nature has no shape or form, it is referred to as "empty." Because the dharma-nature is known and seen in everything without limit, it is referred to as "physical forms."

2

故云。如來色無盡。智慧亦復然。隨生諸法處。復有無量三昧門。遠離內外知見情執。亦名總持門。亦名施門。謂不念內外善惡諸法。乃至皆是諸波羅蜜門。色身佛。是實相佛家用。經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦名法性家焰。亦法性功勳。菩薩行般若時。火燒三界內外諸物盡。於中不損一草葉。為諸法如相故。故經云。不壞於身而隨一相。今知自性是佛。於一切時中行住坐臥。更無一法可得。乃至真如不屬一切名。亦無無名。故經云。智不得有無。

Therefore, [the scriptures] say:[118] "The physical forms of the Tathāgata are unlimited, and wisdom is also like this [i.e., unlimited] as well." Since the various dharmas occupy their respective positions in accordance with the process of arising, they also serve as inestimable gateways to samādhi. Distancing oneself far from emotional attachments to what is known internally and seen externally is referred to as the gateway to esoteric techniques on the

one hand and as the gateway to practices that bestow blessings on the other.[119] It means that when one does not think of the various dharmas as subjective or objective, as good or evil, the various dharmas all become gateways to the *pāramitās*. The Buddha comprised of a physical body [*sesheng fo*] is the true form [of the Buddha] [*shixiang*] used by members of the Buddhist faith.[120]

The scriptures say:[121] "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination."[122]

They [i.e., the scriptures] also refer to it [i.e., the Buddha's physical body] as the blazing house of the dharma-nature, or as the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature.[123] When bodhisattvas practice *prajñā*, the fire [of wisdom] incinerates everything in the three realms [of desire, form and formlessness], whether subjective or objective, but does not harm a single blade of grass or leaf in the process. The reason is that the various dharmas are forms existing in the state of suchness [*ruxiang*].[124] That is why a scripture [*Vimālakīrti sūtra*] says:[125] "Do no harm to the physical body, and be in accord with the universal form [underlying all phenomena] [*yixiang*]."

Since we now know that [our own] self-nature is Buddha, no matter what the situation, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained. And even though true suchness [*zhenru*] is not limited by any name, there are no names that do not refer to it. This is why a scripture [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] says:[126] "Wisdom is not obtained in existence or nonexistence."

The first thing to note here is that some lines from this section are also attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思.[127] This overlap in the teachings attributed to Mazu Daoyi and Qinguan Xingsi is treated in detail in the section devoted to Jizhou [Qingyuan] Xingsi below. Mazu's commentary in the ZJL continues as follows.

3

內外無求。任其本性。亦無任性之心。經云。種種意生身。我說為心量。即無心之心。無量之量。無名為真名。無求是真求。

Internally or externally, there is nothing to seek. Let your original nature [*benxing*] reign free, but do not give reign to a "mind" [*xin*]

[that exists over and above] nature [*xing*]. When a scripture [the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] says:[128] "All the various deliberations give rise to [notions of] physical bodies; I say they are accumulations of the mind [i.e., mind-only]," it refers to "mindless mind" [*wuxin zhi xin*, i.e., the mind of "no-mind," or a mind of spontaneous freedom] and "contentless contents" [i.e., the contents of "no-contents"]. The "nameless" is the true name.[129] "Nonseeking" is true seeking.

The long commentary from Mazu cited above, has no counterpart in the ZTJ or CDL. The only portion of the commentary from the ZJL recorded in the ZTJ and CDL is the fragment cited below (section 4). The ZJL fragment, which is continuous with Mazu's commentary cited above, is provided first, followed by the passages in the ZTJ and CDL, which are virtually identical with each other (save for one character).

4 (ZJL 1; 418c5–10)

經云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善不作惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依。法無自性。三界唯心。經云。森羅及萬像。一法之所印。凡所見色。皆是見心。心不自心。因色故心。色不自色。因心故色。故經云。見色即是見心。

[According to Mazu Daoyi]:[130]

The scriptures say: "Those who seek the Dharma [*fa*] should not seek anything."[131] There is no Buddha separate from mind; there is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not create evil.[132] In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Phenomena [*fa*] have no intrinsic nature. The triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind [*weixin*]. The scriptures say: "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth."[133] Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself. Mind is mind because of physical forms.[134] Physical forms are not physical forms of themselves. Physical forms are physical forms because of mind. That is why the scriptures say: "To see physical forms is to see mind."[135]

The ZTJ and CDL versions provide a highly abbreviated version of the contents recorded in the ZJL. Save for the character *xin* 心 at the end of the ZTJ passage, which the CDL lacks, the two versions are identical.

ZTJ 14 (ZBK ED. 514.8–13; YANAGIDA ED. 1649:33.8–13) AND CDL 6 (T 51.246A9–14)

> 又云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善不捨惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依怙。達罪性空。念念不可得。無自性故。三界唯心。森羅萬象。一法之所印。凡所見色皆是見心。心不自心。因色故有心。

> It [the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] also says: "Those who seek the Dharma should not seek anything."[136] There is no Buddha separate from mind; there is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not reject evil.[137] In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Sinfulness, by nature, is empty; passing thoughts are incapable of [committing sins] because they have no intrinsic nature of their own. Therefore, the triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind [*weixin*]. Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth.[138] Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself; the existence of mind depends on physical forms.[139]

The ZTJ and CDL, in effect, skip the long exegetical commentary attributed to Mazu in the ZJL, cited above, and go directly to a second scripture quotation, which they attribute, by inference, to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*. Even here, where the ZJL punctuates Mazu's comments with citations from scriptures to verify the accuracy of his interpretation (concurring with Yanshou's own stipulated methodology for revealing *zong*, the implicit truth), the ZTJ and CDL simply cite the *Lankavatāra* briefly and attribute the rest of the passage to Mazu himself. This effectively makes Mazu the authority, not the scriptures. Ishii Kôsei has suggested that the role of the *Lankavâtara sūtra* in Mazu's teachings lessens from the ZJL to the ZTJ to the CDL.[140] The omission of the long commentary attributed to Mazu in the ZJL only reinforces this point. In the ZJL, Mazu is depicted as a traditional Buddhist master, whose intimate knowledge of the scriptures and interpretive acumen are readily apparent. The presentation of Mazu as a Buddhist exegete conflicted strongly with the aims of later Chan lineage advocates. The latter shaped Mazu's image so as to minimize Mazu's scripture-friendly persona and exegetical tendencies.

The *Mazu yulu* also incorporates the passages cited above from the ZTJ and CDL. The placement of the fragments occupies a prominent place in the *Mazu yulu*, the first sermon following the opening biographical section.[141] The fragments thus constitute the first teachings of Mazu that readers of the *yulu*

are introduced to. Not surprisingly, the long ZJL commentary is omitted from the *Mazu yulu*. As a result of this editing process, Yanshou's view of Mazu as scriptural exegete was effectively removed from historical memory.[142] As Yanshou was marginalized from the ranks of "true" Chan, his characterization of Mazu was similarly ignored.

In other words, the ZJL fragments relating to Mazu Daoyi not only augment the source material we have attributed to Mazu but also dramatically challenge the way he has normally been depicted as the instigator of the iconoclastic, antinomian style of Chan promoted in Linji faction rhetoric. What other fragments of Mazu's teachings are contained in the ZJL? How do they augment and challenge the conventional image of Mazu derived from his existing *yulu*?

There are five additional references to Mazu Daoyi in the ZJL.[143] In the order they appear, these are as follows.

1. ZJL 2 (T 48.427c6–7)

> Jiangxi proposed the essence [*ti*] as the entire truth. For Mazu, Buddha is mind.

This is reminiscent of the statement by Zongmi in the Chan Preface: "For Jiangxi, everything is true."[144]

2. ZJL 14 (T 48.492a10–27)

> 馬祖大師云。汝若欲識心。秖今語言。即是汝心。喚此心作佛。亦是實相法身佛。亦名為道。經云。有三阿僧祇百千名號。隨世應處立名。如隨色摩尼珠。觸青即青。觸黃即黃。體非一切色。如指不自觸。如刀不自割。如鏡不自照。隨緣所見之處。各得其名。此心與虛空齊壽。乃至輪迴六道。受種種形。即此心未曾有生。未曾有滅。為衆生不識自心。迷情妄起諸業受報。迷其本性。妄執世間風息四大之身。見有生滅。而靈覺之性。實無生滅。汝今悟此性。名為長壽。亦名如來壽量。喚作本空不動性。前後諸聖秖會此性為道。今見聞覺知。元是汝本性。亦名本心。更不離此心別有佛。此心本有。今有。不假造作。本淨今淨。不待瑩拭。自性涅槃。自性清淨。自性解脫。自性離故。是汝心性。本自是佛。不用別求佛。汝自是金剛定。不用更作意凝心取定。縱使凝心斂念作得。亦非究竟。

> The great master Mazu said: "If you want to know mind, the words that you utter just now are mind. By claiming "this mind constitutes Buddha," it is also the true form Dharma-body Buddha, and referred

> to as the Way, as well. The scriptures [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] say:[145] "I [in this realm of suffering] have had a hundred thousand identities over three aeons." The establishment of identity corresponds to the world [one is born in] and individual circumstances. It is like the mani pearl, which assumes the color [of the object it reflects]. When it encounters something blue, it is blue; when it encounters something yellow, it is yellow. Its essence lacks any coloration whatsoever. It is just as a finger does not touch by itself, a knife does not cut by itself, and a mirror does not reflect by itself. Each object it [i.e., mind] views acquires its identity according to circumstances. This mind is equal in age to the void, yet it still undergoes various transformations as it is incarnated in the six destinies. This mind has never been born and will never die. When sentient beings are born, they do not recognize their own mind. Confused by their passions, they presumptuously generate various kinds of karma and receive retribution. Confused about their original nature, they recklessly cling to worldly obsessions[146] and give birth to a body comprised of the four elements. Even though [sentient beings] are clearly subject to birth and death, their spiritually enlightened natures, in truth, are not subject to birth and death. If you now awaken to this nature, it is known as eternal life. It is also known as the life span of the Tathāgata. It is called the originally empty, unchangeable nature. Past and future sages simply understand this nature as the Way. What you now see, hear, realize, and know is, from the very outset, your original nature. It is also known as original mind, and what is more, apart from this mind, there is no other Buddha. This mind's original existence [still] exists at present; it was not created provisionally [as an expedient]. Its original purity is [still] pure at present; there is no need to wipe it clean. Because the nirvāṇa of self-nature, the purity of self-nature, the liberation of self-nature, and the independence of self-nature are your mind-nature, you are originally a Buddha just as you are. There is no need to seek for the Buddha in addition to this. You, yourself, experience Diamond samādhi. There is no need to conceive thoughts, focus the mind, and assume samādhi in addition to this. Why should you try to focus your mind and cut off your thoughts to achieve [samādhi], when this will not even work in the end?"

This passage is not attributed to Mazu in any other source, although it sounds many common Hongzhou Chan themes that are also found in the *Mazu yulu*

(Recorded Sayings of Mazu) (e.g., *benxin* 本心 is discussed in *Mazu yulu* [X 69–1321.3b19 and 3c13; *benxing* 本性 on 2c23 and 3b20; *benxing* 自性 on 2b24 and 2c9]).[147] The mani pearl analogy, a favorite of Zongmi, confirms Zongmi's characterization of Hongzhou Chan in the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Chan Preface). If Yanshou is correct in assigning its usage to Mazu, Zongmi was only repeating the Hongzhou position, not characterizing it in his own terms. In spite of the Hongzhou Chan themes sounded here, it is useful to note that a scripture citation (from the *Lankavatāra sūtra*) is also included as verification (even if the words from the scripture appear only tangentially related to the content of Mazu's message).

Portions of the same material attributed to Mazu in ZJL 14 are elsewhere attributed to Reverend Jizhou [Xing]si 吉州[行]思和尚.[148] The question of the same material being attributed to Mazu and Xingsi is considered in detail in the section devoted to Jizhou [Qingyuan] Xingsi, below.

3. ZJL 49 (T 48.707B16–26)

如馬祖大師云。若此生所經行之處。及自家田宅處所。父母兄弟等。舉心見者。此心本來不去。莫道見彼事則言心去。心性本無來去。亦無起滅。所經行處。及自家父母眷屬等。今所見者。由昔時見故。皆是第八含藏識中。憶持在心。非今心去。亦名種子識。亦名含藏識。貯積昔所見者。識性虛通。念念自見。名巡舊識。亦名流注生死。此念念自離。不用斷滅。若滅此心。名斷佛種性。此心本是真如之體。甚深如來藏。而與七識俱。

As the great master Mazu says: "If you make mind observe the circumstances one has experienced in this life—the location of one's family, lands, and domicile, father and mother, elder and younger brothers, and so on—mind does not really go there. It makes no sense to say the mind goes there as a result of observing these things. The mind-nature never comes or goes, nor does it rise or perish."

[Yanshou's commentary]:

"When one observes now the circumstances one has experienced—one's family, father and mother, dependents, and so on—they are the result of past views. All of these are contained in the eighth alaya-consciousness, recollections lodged in the mind. It is not that the mind when it now [recollects these things] goes anywhere. It is known both as seed consciousness and alaya-consciousness. As the

stored up accumulations of the past are observed, the consciousness nature shows them to be false illusions. The succession of thoughts one observes are known as a consciousness derived from past [karmic accumulations]; they are also known as the flowing forth of birth and death [i.e., samsâra]. Since this succession of thoughts is naturally divorced [from the original mind-nature], there is no need to extinguish. If you extinguish this mind, it is known as eliminating the seed-nature of Buddha[-hood]. This mind is fundamentally the essence of true suchness, the very profound womb of the tathâgata, and yet it substantiates the [other] seven consciousnesses."[149]

The passage attributed to Mazu is not found in any other source. Yanshou's commentary is obviously intended to link Mazu to scriptural and doctrinal teachings, especially the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and the Weishi/Consciousness-Only School. The preceding passage in the ZJL paraphrases passages from the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論.[150] Mazu's remarks are interpreted as a commentary on these passages. The dependence on standard doctrinal formulations to explain Mazu's teachings stands in contrast to the way Mazu is depicted in other sources, but is reminiscent of Zongmi's attempt to interpret the teachings of rival Chan factions in terms of scholastic typologies. It emphasizes Yanshou's view of Mazu as one who's views are readily compatible with scriptural exegesis.

4. ZJL 92: T 48.919B15–24

又江西馬祖和尚。問亮座主。蘊何經業。對云。講三十本經論。師云。正講時將什麼講。對云。將心講。師云。心如工技兒。意如和技者。爭解講他經。對云。不可是虛空講也。師云。卻是虛空講得。座主於言下大悟。遂下階禮拜。驀目汗流。師云。者鈍根阿師。用禮拜作什麼。其座主卻迴本寺。語學徒言。某一生學業。將謂天下無人敵者。今日被開元寺老宿。一唾淨盡。我爾許多時。皆是誑謼汝。遂散學徒。一入西山。更無消息。

Moreover, Reverend Mazu of Jiangxi asked Chief Lecturer Liang:[151] "Altogether, how many scriptures do you work in?"

He replied: "I lecture on thirty scriptures and treatises."

Mazu said: "When you lecture properly, what do you lecture with?"

He replied: "I lecture with mind."

Mazu said: "Since mind is like the leading actor, and thoughts are like the dramas it performs in,[152] how can you effectively lecture on the scriptures as something 'other'?"

He replied: "One cannot lecture only with the void."

Mazu said: "One can indeed lecture with the void."

As soon as these words were delivered, the chief lecturer experienced great awakening. He then descended the steps and bowed respectfully [to Mazu], instantly sweating profusely.

Mazu said: "You stupid monk. What need is there for bowing?"

The chief lecturer then returned to his home monastery, and told his students: "I have studied my whole life thinking no one in the world compared to me. Today, the old hand at Kaiyuan Monastery completely did me in with a single yell. So, for a long time, I have been doing nothing but deceiving you."

He then sent his students away, immediately entered the West Mountains and was never again heard from.

This encounter-style dialogue recorded hère in ZJL 92 is told in more dramatic fashion in ZTJ 14 (ZBK ed. 520.3–521.8; Yanagida ed. 1648: 39.3–40.8):

黃三郎有一日。到大安寺廊下。便啼哭。亮座主問。有什麼事啼哭。三郎曰。啼哭座主。座主云。某甲等作麼。三郎曰。還聞道。黃三郎投馬祖出家。纔蒙指示。便契合。汝等座主。說葛藤作什麼。座主從此發心。便到開元寺。門士報大師曰。大安寺亮座主來。欲得參大師。兼問佛法。大師便昇座。座主來參大師。大師問。見說座主講得六十本經論。是不。對云。不敢。師云。作麼生講。對云。以心講。師云。未解講得經論在。座主云。作麼生。云。心如工技兒。意如和技者。爭解講得經論在。座主云。心既講不得。將虛空還講得麼。師云。虛空卻虛空講得。座主不在意。便出。纔下(土+皆)大悟。迴來禮謝。師云。鈍根阿師。禮拜作什麼。亮座主起來。(雨/月+永) 霂汗流。晝夜六日。在大師身邊侍立。後諮白云。某甲離和尚左右。自看省路修行。唯願和尚久住世間。廣度群生。伏惟珍重。座主歸寺。告衆云。某甲一生功夫。將謂無人過得。今日之下。被馬大師啊嘖。直得情盡。便散卻學徒。一入西山。更無消息。座吃餓飯主偈曰。三十年來作餓鬼。如今始得復人身。青山自有孤雲伴。童子從他事別人。

Huang Sanlang one day was passing along a corridor at Great Tranquility Monastery when he started sobbing. Chief Lecturer Liang asked: "Why are you weeping?"

Sanlang answered: "I am weeping for you, Chief Lecturer."

The chief lecturer asked: "Why are you weeping for me?"

Sanlang replied: "Haven't you heard? I, Huang Sanlang, have left home [to become a monk], throwing myself in with Mazu, and as soon as I received instruction from him, I tacitly understood [i.e. achieved awakening]. Why do chief lecturers like you argue for the sake of arguing?"

The chief lecturer, as a result of this, resolved to attain enlightenment, and set out for Kaiyuan Monastery [where Mazu was abbot]. The gatekeeper reported [his arrival] to Mazu: "Chief Lecturer Liang of Great Tranquility Monastery has arrived, and wishes to pay his respects to you, Master, and inquire about the Buddha Dharma."

Mazu, then, ascended his seat, and the chief lecturer came to pay his respects to Mazu. Mazu asked: "I have heard that you, Chief Lecturer, have lectured on sixty scriptures and treatises. Is it true?"

The chief lecturer replied: "It would be presumptuous of me to say so [even though it is true]."[153]

Mazu asked: "What do you lecture with?"

The chief lecturer replied: "I lecture with mind."

Mazu said: "You cannot lecture effectively on the scriptures and treatises with that."

The chief lecturer asked: "Why?"

[Mazu] said: "Since mind is like the leading actor, and thoughts are like the dramas it performs in, how can you lecture on the scriptures and treatises effectively with it?"

The chief lecturer replied: "If one, in actuality, cannot lecture with mind, can lecturing be done with the void?"[154]

Mazu answered: "The void indeed can lecture."

The chief lecturer got up to leave, without having understood the meaning [of what Mazu had said], but as soon as he started down the steps he experienced a great awakening, and came back and bowed in gratitude [to Mazu].

Mazu said: "You stupid monk. Why are you bowing?"

Chief Lecturer Liang rose up, sweating profusely. After having waited upon Mazu day and night for six days, he addressed Mazu directly: "I am going to leave your company, Reverend. I have seen and critically examined the path for myself, [and will continue] to cultivate and practice it. I simply ask that you, Reverend, remain long in the world in order to save as many living beings as possible. I beseech you to take care of yourself."

The chief lecturer returned to his monastery and addressed the assembly: "I have worked my whole life thinking no one could

surpass me. On this very day, Mazu exposed my illusions directly by letting out a yell."

He then sent his students away, immediately entered the West Mountains, and was never again heard from. The chief lecturer's verse says:

For thirty years a hungry ghost,
Now I begin again to assume human form.
On Blue Mountain I floated in the company of clouds,
My students freed to follow other teachers.

The addition of an introduction to the dialogue between Mazu and Chief Lecturer Liang greatly enhances the dramatic quality of the episode. It sets the stage by exposing how chief lecturers like Liang merely "argue for the sake of arguing," and have no idea what constitutes true awakening. The poetic ending adds a common feature of encounters that culminate in awakening, as was the case here. In effect, the ZTJ version renders the ZJL encounter into more dramatic form.[155]

Following the encounter dialogue between Mazu and Chief Lecturer Liang, the ZJL records another brief encounter between Mazu and a student. (Because the two encounters, although distinct, are recorded together in the ZJL, I have numbered this one 4A.)

4A. ZJL 92: T 48.919B24–26

又如有學士問馬祖和尚。如水無筋骨。能勝萬斛舟時如何。師云。我遮裏水亦無。舟亦無。說什麼筋骨。

Moreover, [the situation] is similar to [the account of] a student who asked Reverend Mazu: "If water has no bones or muscles [i.e., structural elements], how is it able to support a ten-thousand-pound boat?"

Mazu said: "Neither the water nor the boat exists here. Why do you speak of bones or muscles?"

While this dialogue is not found in either the ZTJ or CDL, it does appear in the *Mazu yulu*, where it is attributed to Layman Pang.[156]

5. ZJL 97 (T 48.940B6–15)

馬大師問曰。如何用意合禪定無相三昧。師曰。汝若學心地法門。猶如下種。我說法要。譬如天澤。汝緣合故。當見于道。馬大師又

問曰。和尚云。見道。道非色故。云何能睹。師曰。心地法眼。能見于道。無相三昧。亦復然矣。馬大師曰。有成壞不。師曰。若契此道。無始無終。不成不壞。不聚不散。不長不短。不靜不亂。不急不緩。若如是解當名為道。汝受吾教。聽吾偈言。心地含諸種。遇澤悉皆萌。三昧華無相。何壞復何成。

Master Ma asked [Huairang]:[157] "How does one activate thoughts to accord with the formless samādhi during meditation [*chanding*]?"

Master [Huairang] said: "If you study the doctrine of the mind-essence [*xindi*], it is like putting down seeds. The essential Dharma which I teach is like moisture from Heaven. Because you are in accord with circumstances [i.e., study the mind-essence], you will see the Way."

Master Ma again asked, "Reverend, when you see the Way, the Way has no form. How is one able to view it?"[158]

Master [Huairang] said: "You are able to see the Way with the Dharma-eye of the mind-essence. You can also do so with the formless samādhi."

Master Ma said: "Aren't they [i.e., the mind-essence and formless samādhi] created and destroyed [like all existing things]?"

Master [Huairang] said: "If you tacitly unite with this Way, it is without beginning and without end, neither created nor destroyed, neither consistent nor inconsistent, neither long nor short, neither peaceful nor chaotic, neither hurried nor slow. If you understand what is referred to as the Way like this, you have understood my teaching. Listen to my gatha:

The mind-essence contains various seeds;
When moistened, all of them, without exception, sprout.
The flower of samādhi has no form;
How is it destroyed and how is it created?"

This ZJL passage is virtually the same as what is recorded in the ZTJ.[159] The same episode is also recounted in the *Mazu yulu*, and while it is told similarly, there are some important differences. The *Mazu yulu* passage comes at the beginning of the text, in the biography section, following the famous exchange between Mazu and Huairang, where Huairang compares polishing a brick to make a mirror to sitting in meditation to become a Buddha. The *Mazu yulu* version reads as follows.

Mazu yulu (X 69–1321.2a19–b2)

師聞示誨。如飲醍醐。禮拜問曰。如何用心。即合無相三昧。讓曰。汝學心地法門。如下種子。我說法要。譬彼天澤。汝緣合故。當見其道。又問曰。道非色相。云何能見。讓曰。心地法眼能見乎道。無相三昧。亦復然矣。師曰。有成壞否。讓曰。若以成壞聚散而見道者。非見道也。聽吾偈。曰。心地含諸種。遇澤悉皆萌。三昧華無相。何壞復何成。師蒙開悟。心意超然。侍奉十秋。日益玄奧。

When Master [Mazu] heard [Huairang] deliver his instruction, it was like drinking ghee. He bowed respectfully [to Huairang] and asked: "How does one activate the mind so as to accord with the formless samādhi?"

[Master Huai]rang said: "When you study the doctrine of the mind-essence, it is like putting down seeds. The essential Dharma which I teach is like moisture from Heaven. Because you are in accord with circumstances [i.e., study the mind-essence], you will see the Way."

[Master Ma] again asked, "The Way has no form or shape. How is one able to see it?"

Master [Huairang] said: "You are able to see the Way with the Dharma-eye of the mind-essence. You can also do so with the formless samādhi."

Master Ma said: "Aren't they [i.e., the mind-essence and formless samādhi] created and destroyed [like all existing things]?"

Master [Huairang] said: "If you see the Way in terms of creation and destruction, consistency or inconsistency, you do not see the Way. Listen to my gatha:

The mind-essence contains various seeds;
When moistened, all of them, without exception, sprout.
The flower of samādhi has no form;
How is it destroyed and how is it created?"

Master [Ma] underwent an awakening experience; his mind was in a state of transcendence. He waited on and attended to [Huairang] for ten years; the profundity [of his understanding] increased daily.

The important difference here is where the ZJL and ZTJ versions say: "If you tacitly unite with this Way, it is without beginning and without end, neither created nor destroyed, neither collected nor scattered, neither long nor short,

neither peaceful nor chaotic, neither hurried nor slow. If you understand what is referred to as the Way like this, you have understood my teaching," the *Mazu yulu* says: "If you see the Way in terms of creation and destruction, consistency and inconsistency, you do not see the Way." They are saying the exact opposite. The ZJL and ZTJ allege that Huairang taught Mazu that if you tacitly unite with the Way in the terms specified, and understand the Way like this, you have understood the teaching. The *Mazu yulu* alleges that if you see the Way in those terms (giving an abbreviated list), you do not see the Way. The significance is amplified by the fact that according to the *Mazu yulu*, this was the exchange that occasioned Mazu's awakening. The terms of this awakening experience are altered according to the explanation of the teaching given.

A second figure from the Hongzhou school, Mazu Daoyi's disciple Ehu Dayi, also figures prominently in fascicle 1 of the ZJL, as a major representative of the faction after Mazu himself. At first glance, the choice of Ehu Dayi might seem odd, given the existence of a number of other disciples of Mazu (eg., Baizhang Huaihai, Nanquan Puyuan, Dazhu Huihai, Layman Pang, etc.) who have traditionally been more celebrated. Yet there were many reasons why Yanshou awarded place of privilege to Dayi.

Ehu Dayi was the first monk associated with the Hongzhou school to be summoned to the capital, and as such was the first to present Hongzhou teachings on the national stage before elite audiences of monks and literati.[160] As a result, the fortunes of Hongzhou Chan were built on the efforts of the likes of Dayi in winning public recognition and support. Jinhua Chen has even argued that Dayi's performance at the famous Chan council of 796—a debate between a Northern School protagonist, Zhanran, and Dayi, representing the Hongzhou school and more broadly the Southern School—ended with the recognition that Hongzhou Chan was the bearer of Chan orthodoxy.[161] This goes a long way toward explaining Yanshou's fascination with Dayi. The ZJL fragment involving Dayi pertains to his conversations with elite monks and literati (including the emperor himself) at the capital.

ZJL 1 (T 48.419A2–10)

鵝湖大義禪師。因詔入内。遂問京城諸大師。大德。汝等以何為道。或有對云。知見為道。師云。維摩經云。法離見聞覺知。云何以知見為道。又有對云。無分別為道。師云。經云。善能分別諸法相。於第一義而不動。云何以無分別為道。又皇帝問。如何是佛性。答不離陛下所問。

Chan master Dayi of Goose Lake was summoned to the palace. Subsequently, he questioned the great masters and great virtuous ones of the capital:

"What do you consider to be the Way?"

One of them replied: "Knowing and seeing is the Way."

The master [Dayi] said: "The *Vimālakīrti sūtra* says: "The Dharma [*fa*] is apart from seeing, listening, feeling, and knowing."[162] Why do you consider knowing and seeing as the Way?"

Again, one of them replied: "When [knowing and seeing] are done without [engaging in] analysis,[163] they are the Way."

The master said: "The [*Vimālakīrti*] *sūtra* says: "When one is skillfully able to analyze phenomenal forms, by relying on the supreme meaning [of the Dharma] one does not alter them."[164] Why do you say when [knowing and seeing] are done without [engaging in] analysis, they are the Way?"[165]

Also, the emperor asked: "What is Buddha-nature?"

The master answered: "It is not separate from your majesty's question."[166]

While Dayi is a Hongzhou lineage master, Yanshou is not interested in analyzing Dayi's comments along sectarian lines. In his commentary to the passage, Yanshou states that "in some cases [Chan masters] directly point to the illuminating mind," implying here the example of Mazu, and "in other cases they break down obstacles for entering the Way, and dispel firmly held attachments with unsurpassed eloquence," inferring that Nanyang Huizhong and Ehu Dayi belong to this category.[167] More elaborate versions of the fragment are recorded in the ZTJ and CDL.

ZTJ 15 (Yanagida ed. 1642:74.12–75.3 and 75.5–9; ZBK ed. 554.12–555.3 and 555.5–9)

應緣次上都。孝文皇帝詔入內。諮請問道。德宗朝麟德殿。大筵論義。有人問。心有也。曠劫而滯凡夫。心無也。剎那而登妙覺。師答曰。此乃梁武帝言。然心有者。是滯有。有既有矣安可解脫。心無也。何人而登妙覺。師問諸碩德曰。行止偃息。畢竟以何為道。有人云。知者是道。師云。不可以識識。不可以智知。安得知者是道乎。有人云。無分別是道。師云。善能分別諸法相。於第一義而不動。安得無分別是道乎。有人云。四禪八定是道。師云。佛身無為不墮諸數。安得四禪八定是道耶。

Owing to circumstances, [Dayi] then went up to the capital. Emperor Xiaowen [a.k.a. Dezong 德宗][168] summoned him to the palace. In consultations there, he was asked about the Way. During discussions at a great banquet in the Linde Hall [sponsored by] the court of [Emperor] Dezong, someone asked: "When mind exists, it causes unenlightened humans to languish for vast eons. When mind does not exist, one realizes wondrous awakening in an instant."

The master replied: "This is just what Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty said. Nevertheless, when mind exists, it causes us to languish in existence. This goes on for existence after existence. How can we be liberated? When mind does not exist, who is it that realizes awakening?" . . .

The master asked the various great virtuous ones: "Activity only makes you lose your breath. Ultimately, what is the Way?"

Someone said: "Knowing is the Way."

The master said: "Consciousness is incapable of being aware. Wisdom is incapable of discursive knowledge.[169] How can knowing be the Way?"

Someone said: "When done without [engaging in] analysis, it is the Way."

The master said: "When one is skillfully able to analyze phenomenal forms, by relying on the supreme meaning [of the Dharma] one does not alter them. How can it be that when [knowing] is done without [engaging in] analysis, it is the Way?"

Someone said: "The four dhyānas and eight samādhis are the Way."

The master said: "The body of the Buddha is unrestricted [*wuwei*], and cannot be reduced to categorization. How can the four dhyānas and eight samādhis be the Way?"

CDL 7 (T 51.253A5–6, A11–15 AND A20–22)

唐憲宗嘗詔入内。於麟德殿論議。。。。

師卻問諸碩德曰。行住坐臥畢竟以何為道。有對曰。知者是道。師曰。不可以智知。不可以識識。安得知者是道乎。有對無分別是道。師曰。善能分別諸法相。於第一義而不動。安得無分別是道乎。

有對。四禪八定是道。師曰。佛身無為不墮諸數。安在四禪八定耶。眾皆杜口。師又舉。順宗問尸利禪師。大地眾生如何得見性成佛。尸利云。佛性猶如水中月。可見不可取。因謂帝曰。佛性非

見心見。水中月如何攫取。帝乃問。何者是佛性。師對曰。不離陛下所問。帝默契真宗益加欽重。

Emperor Xianzong of the Tang [dynasty] summoned [Dayi] to the palace. There was a discussion in the Linde Hall. . . .

The master then asked the various great virtuous ones: "Walking, standing, sitting, or lying down—ultimately, what is the Way?"

Someone replied: "Knowing is the Way."

The master said: "Wisdom is incapable of discursive knowledge. Consciousness is incapable of being aware. How can knowing be the Way?"

Someone replied: "When done without [engaging in] analysis, it is the Way."

The master said: "When one is skillfully able to analyze phenomenal forms, by relying on the supreme meaning [of the Dharma] one does not alter them. How can it be that when [knowing] is done without [engaging in] analysis, it is the Way?"

There was a reply: "The four dhyānas and eight samādhis are the Way."

The master said: "The body of the Buddha is unrestricted [*wuwei*], and cannot be reduced to categorization. How can it be present in the four dhyānas and eight samādhis?"

The members of the assembly were all rendered speechless.

The master also mentioned the question that Emperor Xunzong had raised with Chan master Shili, "How do sentient beings of great rank [i.e., emperors] see their nature and become a Buddha?" and Shili's reply, "Buddha-nature is like the moon in water—you can see it, but cannot obtain it." Thereupon, he [Dayi] said to the emperor: "Though Buddha-nature is unseen, one certainly sees the moon in water. Why don't you grasp it?"

The emperor then asked: "What is Buddha-nature?"

The master replied: "It is not separate from your majesty's question."

The emperor tacitly concurred with true Chan teaching, and conferred on Dayi the honorific title Qinzhong [Respected and Esteemed].

In the ZJL, Dayi's remarks are authorized with citations from the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*. Neither the ZTL of CDL versions acknowledge Dayi's quotation from

scriptural sources. In the ZJL, we have the record of an actual dialogue where the point is to arrive at clarity of interpretation regarding important points of doctrine, not to render the opponents speechless (as in the CDL version). The tendency to reduce the truth to the ineffable, a state beyond words and rational discourse, is promoted in Linji Chan. The fact that Dayi exhibits this tendency in the CDL affirms his linkage with the cardinal message associated with the Hongzhou school in Linji Chan interpretation. The emperor's "tacit concurrence with true Chan teaching" (i.e., the truth as ineffable and beyond rational discourse), as in the CDL version, alleges confirmation of Chan orthodoxy at the highest level of official approval.

Both Mazu Daoyi and Ehu Dayi are characterized by Yanshou as doctrinal exegetes who apply their interpretive skills within the framework of Chan teaching. This is, on the whole, a mirror image of Yanshou himself and his own avowed technique of elucidating Chan through scriptural and doctrinal exegesis. This raises the question of who Mazu and Dayi really were, and how Hongzhou Chan teaching was actually constituted. Phrased another way, whose interpretation of Hongzhou Chan is correct? Is Yanshou's depiction a creation in his own image and likeness, a skillful ploy to undermine his opponents? Or are his opponents the ones who have misrepresented Hongzhou Chan teaching as iconoclastic, antinomian, amoral, and so on, for their own self-interests? As with many two-sided debates, the answer is not always straightforward.

Mario Poceski has pointed to the way canonical texts functioned as chief sources of religious authority in Chinese Buddhism, even as they were used to support positions not envisaged by the texts themselves.[170] This was the style of exegesis found in early Chan. Poceski also claims that the records of the Hongzhou school exhibit little evidence of exegetical methods that "[bridge] the gap between Chan and the canonical tradition," and that this distinguishes the Hongzhou school from earlier Chan schools.[171] According to Poceski, even though explicit invocation of scriptural authority is "atypical of the Hongzhou school's records, that does not mean Mazu and his disciples were immune to its influence. In fact, scriptural quotations and allusions fill their records, even though the full extent of their usage of canonical sources is not immediately obvious."[172] Poceski then goes on to quote a passage from Mazu's sermons, first as depicted in the *Mazu yulu* and then exactly the same passage with the quotations and allusions to various scriptures added. This demonstrates how Mazu's sermon appears to readers as a spontaneous exhibition of his own innate knowledge, but actually consists of a string of scriptural quotations and allusions. This situation is not restricted to Mazu but is characteristic of the records of the Hongzhou school throughout, which are full of quotations and allusions to canonical texts.[173]

Yanshou's depiction of Mazu and Dayi's teachings in the ZJL compels us to take the analysis a step further. The question that Yanshou's fragments in the ZJL raise is whether the ascriptions to canonical texts were originally there, as in the ZJL, but were edited out in other sources to provide the illusion of independence from scriptural authority. As in many two-sided debates, the truth may lie somewhere in the middle. If given the chance, Zongmi would presumably have jumped at the opportunity to characterize the Hongzhou school along the lines suggested by Yanshou, yet there is nothing in his depiction of the school that suggests the exegetical orientation provided by Yanshou. Whatever the final answer regarding the orientation of Hongzhou school teaching—whether it sanctions or eschews doctrinal exegesis—it is clear that the traditional perspective of the Hongzhou faction as iconoclastic, antinomian, and amoral has been undermined. The fact that Hongzhou masters relied on canonical sources in their sermons is no longer disputable. What remains to be seen is the degree to which they acknowledged the canonical sources on which their interpretations were based. The ZJL suggests that they openly recognized their indebtedness to such sources in ways that are consistent with conventional Chinese Buddhist exegesis.

Although not directly pertaining to Mazu and the Hongzhou school, it is nonetheless instructive to look at the ZJL fragments for Nanyue Huairang in comparison with other sources. Nanyue Huairang (along with Qingyuan Xingsi) was allegedly one of two disciples of Huineng through whom later Chan lineages flourished. Huairang is particularly noteworthy as the master of Mazu Daoyi, and for this reason I am compelled to examine him here. Little is known of either Huairang or Xingsi, prompting Hu Shi's famous proclamation that they were figures "exhumed from obscurity" to justify the transmission claims of later lineages.[174] While there are brief notices regarding Huairang and Xingsi in the ZJL and CDL, it has long struck observers how sparse our documentation is on figures that were so crucial to Chan's development.[175] As a result, the fragments preserved by Yanshou in the ZJL constitute some of the earliest information we have regarding these two masters. (Xingsi's records will be examined in a different context below.)

The Nanyue Huairang fragment in the ZJL reads as follows:[176]

讓大師云。一切萬法。皆從心生。若達心地。所作無礙。汝今此心。即是佛故。達磨西來。唯傳一心之法。三界唯心。森羅及萬像。一法之所印。凡所見色。皆是自心。心不自心。因色故心。汝可隨時。即事即理。都無所礙。菩提道果。亦復如是。從心所生。即名為色。知色空故。生即不生。

Master [Huai]rang said: "All the myriad dharmas, without exception, arise from mind. When you understand thoroughly the mind-essence, you thereby are freed of hindrances. It is because this mind of yours now is Buddha that Bodhidharma came from the West to exclusively transmit the truth of universal mind. All creation extending throughout the myriad forms are inscribed on each dharma. The forms that we ordinarily see are all our own mind. Mind is not mind of itself, [mind is] mind because of forms. When you can act in accordance with what is at once phenomenal and noumenal, nothing will obstruct you. Bodhi and nirvāṇa [the fruit of the Way] are also like this as well. What arises from mind are names and forms. Because we know forms are empty, [we know that] what arises does not arise."

In the ZJL version, Huairang is depicted as presenting a standard Dharma lecture, reflecting conventional Mahayana teaching. The same lecture is recorded in abbreviated form in the CDL, and enhanced with the addition of an encounter dialogue. Aversion similar to that found in the CDL is also included in the GDL.[177] These, rather than the ZJL version, represent the standard way Huairang came to be depicted.[178]

又曰。一切法皆從心生。心無所生。法無能住。若達心地。所作無礙。非遇上根。宜慎辭哉。有一大德。問。如鏡鑄像。像成後鏡明。向什麼處去。師曰。如大德為童子時。相貌何在。曰。只如像成後。為什麼不鑑照。師曰。雖然不鑑照。謾他一點不得。

[Huairang] further said: "All dharmas arise from mind. If mind did not produce them, dharmas would not be able to dwell [anywhere]. When you understand thoroughly the mind-essence, you thereby are freed of hindrances. If you are not endowed with superior capacities, you should phrase your words carefully."

Someone of great virtue asked: "When a mirror casts images, what happens to the mirror's luminosity after the images are formed?"

Huairang said: "When you, virtuous one, were an acolyte, what happened to your appearance [from then]?"

[The questioner] asked: "Since the image has been formed, why isn't it illuminated?"

Huairang said: "Even if it is true that it isn't illuminated, no one is fooled in the least by it."

The ZJL image of Huairang as conventional sermonizer is transformed in classic Chan sources, the CDL and GDL, into an engaged debater who challenges the presumed virtue of his interlocutor. While the nature of the exchange between Huairang and the "one of great virtue" does not include the aggressive style typical of many encounter dialogues, it is a step in this direction. It occupies a fitting place in the emerging Chan "encounter dialogue" narrative, wherein challenging those of presumed knowledge and virtue becomes a standard trope.

Fragments Attributed to More Than One Master

While it is not unusual to find overlapping phrases throughout Chan discourses, and similar statements, or even episodes, attributed to more than one master, the ZJL documents a massive overlap in teachings attributed to both Qingyuan (or Jizhou) Xingsi and Mazu Daoyi. Both masters play crucial roles in the formation of Chan lineages and Chan identity. As mentioned above, Xingsi's records in the ZTJ and CDL are brief.[179] Moreover, neither the ZTJ nor CDL have any of the contents recorded in the ZJL. The fragment in the ZJL is the lengthiest sermon extract we have of Xingsi in early sources, and an important source of knowledge regarding the teachings attributed to Xingsi. The ZJL account of Xingsi'a teachings begins as follows.[180]

> 吉州思和尚云。即今語言。即是汝心。此心是佛。是實相法身佛。經云。有三阿僧祇百千名號。隨世界應處立名。如隨色摩尼珠。觸青即青。觸黃即黃。寶本色。如指不自觸。刀不自割。鏡不自照。隨像所現之處。各各不同。得名優劣不同。此心與虛空齊壽。若入三昧門。無不是三昧。若入無相門。總是無相。隨立之處。盡得宗門。語言啼笑。屈伸俯仰。各從性海所發。故得宗名。相好之佛。是因果佛。即實相佛家用。經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦云。法性家焰。又云。法性功勳。隨其心淨。即佛土淨。諸念若生。隨念得果。應物而現。謂之如來。隨應而去。故無所求。一切時中。更無一法可得。

> Reverend [Xing]si of Jizhou said:
>
> The words that you utter just now are your mind. This mind is Buddha; it is the true form Dharma-body Buddha. The scriptures [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] say:[181] "I [in this realm of suffering] have had a hundred thousand identities over three aeons." The establishment of identity corresponds to the world and individual circumstances. It is

like the mani pearl, which assumes the color [of the object it reflects]. When it encounters something blue, it is blue; when it encounters something yellow, it is yellow. [Whatever it encounters] is the original color of the jewel. It is just as a finger does not touch itself, a knife does not wound itself, and a mirror does not reflect itself. The image projected depends on the circumstances. None of [the images projected] is the same. The superiority and inferiority of [each] identity formed is not the same. This mind is equal in age to the void.[182] If one enters samādhi, there is nothing that is not samādhi. If you enter formlessness, everything is formless. In accordance with the circumstances by which they are established, [everything] epitomizes the true source. Whether speaking or talking, laughing or crying, bending down or stretching out, bowing one's head or looking up, each [activity] emanates from the vast sea of nature. This is how they gain the designation as the true source. The Buddha with distinctive marks and bodily characteristics is the Buddha of cause and effect, and is at once the true form [of the Buddha] [*shixiang*] used by members of the Buddhist faith. The scriptures say:[183] "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination." They [i.e., the scriptures] also say [i.e., the Buddha's physical body] is the blazing house of the dharma-nature, and also the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature.[184] Through the purification of this mind, the Buddha land is purified. As thoughts arise, results are obtained according to the thoughts. As manifested through objective form, they are referred to as the Tathāgata. Whatever takes on [objective from] perishes. That is why there is nothing to seek. No matter what the situation, there is not a single dharma that can be attained.

自是得法。不以得更得。是以法不知法。法不聞法。平等即佛。佛即平等。不以平等更行平等。故云獨一無伴。迷時迷於悟。悟時悟於迷。迷還自迷。悟還自悟。無有一法不從心生。無有一法不從心滅。是以迷悟總在一心。故云一塵含法界。非心非佛者。真為本性過諸數量。非聖無辯。辯所不能言。無佛可作。無道可修。經云。若知如來常不說法。是名具足多聞。即見自心具足多聞。故草木有佛性者。皆是一心。飯食作佛事。衣服作佛事故。

When one attains dharmas oneself, one does not attain them through further attaining. Accordingly, dharmas do not know dharmas, and dharmas do not hear dharmas [in this manner either]. [Although]

equanimity [characterizes] the Buddha, and the Buddha [possesses] equanimity, [the Buddha] does not practice equanimity with more equanimity. That is why it is said that [the mind obtains nirvāṇa] alone, by itself, without companions.[185] When ignorant, one is ignorant about awakening. When one awakens, one awakens to one's ignorance. Ignorance is one's own ignorance. Awakening is one's own awakening. There is not a single dharma that is not born of mind. There is not a single dharma that does not perish from mind. Accordingly, ignorance and awakening both exist in the same mind. That is why it is said that each speck of dust contains the [entire] dharma-realm.[186] As for [the phrase] "not mind, not Buddha," it truly [refers to] the original nature beyond any measure. As for [the phrase] "nothing sacred and nothing to argue over,"[187] there is nothing about which one can argue. There is no Buddha one can conceive of and no religious path one can cultivate. The scriptures say: "When you know the Tathāgata never preaches the Dharma, this is known as being sufficiently well learned."[188] It is to see directly that one's own mind is sufficiently well learned. That is why [it is said that] grass and trees have the Buddha-nature. Everything is universal mind. As a result, drinking and eating constitute Buddhist activities; wearing clothes constitutes Buddhist activity.

This is indeed an extensive record of Xingsi's teachings, which are otherwise unknown to us. But are they really Xingsi's teachings? The picture is complicated by the fact that some of exactly the same contents attributed to Xingsi are elsewhere in the ZJL attributed to Mazu Daoyi. The first part of Xingsi's entry above is elsewhere attributed to Mazu, with some variation. Mazu's corresponding excerpt reads:[189]

馬祖大師云。汝若欲識心。秖今語言。即是汝心。喚此心作佛。亦是實相法身佛。亦名為道。經云。有三阿僧祇百千名號。隨世應處立名。如隨色摩尼珠。觸青即青。觸黃即黃。體非一切色。如指不自觸。如刀不自割。如鏡不自照。隨緣所見之處。各得其名。此心與虛空齊壽。

The great master Mazu said:

If you want to know mind, the words that you utter just now are mind. By claiming "this mind constitutes Buddha," it is also the true form Dharma-body Buddha, and referred to as the Way, as well. The scriptures [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] say:[190] "I [in this realm of suffering] have had a hundred thousand identities over three aeons." The

> establishment of identity corresponds to the world [one is born in] and individual circumstances. It is like the mani pearl, which assumes the color [of the object it reflects]. When it encounters something blue, it is blue; when it encounters something yellow, it is yellow. Its essence lacks any coloration whatsoever. It is just as a finger does not touch by itself, a knife does not cut by itself, and a mirror does not reflect by itself. Each object it [i.e., mind] views acquires its identity according to circumstances. This mind is equal in age to the void.

In addition, other lines attributed to Xingsi in the ZJL are elsewhere attributed to Mazu Daoyi.[191] The passage in question reads the same in both places.

> 即實相佛家用。經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦云。法性家焰。又云。法性功勳。。。。一切時中。更無一法可得。

> is the true form [of the Buddha] [*shixiang*] used by members of the Buddhist faith. The scriptures say: "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination." They [i.e., the scriptures] also say [the Buddha's physical body] is the blazing house of the dharma-nature, and also say that it is [formed from] the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature. . . . No matter what the situation, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained.

How does one explain the same teaching fragments being attributed to more than one master? Is it simply a case of clerical error or editorial misjudgment? Or is there something more nefarious at work? Is this an attempt to give content and substance to the otherwise murky figure of Xingsi, and thus enhance his credibility? Or could it be the other way around, a case where the teachings of Mazu Daoyi are shaped along more benign lines, borrowing Xingsi's scriptural- and doctrinal-friendly interpretation of Chan to "tame" Mazu and Hongzhou's wilder impulses?

There is currently no way to resolve the issue. As mentioned above, it is not unusual to find examples where the same episode or the same critical phrase of a *gong'an* (*kōan*) is attributed to more than one Chan master. Certain dramatic stories had great currency, and in the retelling it was easy for protagonists names to be substituted as the situation warranted. In addition as *gong'an* style techniques gained currency, many of the same questions (e.g., "Why did Bodhidharma come from the West?") were asked repeatedly,

and the stock of answers tended toward uniformity over time. Yet we are not talking about *gong'an*-type interchanges here, but sermon extracts. The kinds of explanations given in the case of *gong'an*-type encounters do not apply here.

At the very least, the shared sermon contents attributed to Xingsi and Mazu in the ZJL reflect either an editorial oversight by Yanshou or a choice to ignore the overlap. It is possible that manuscripts of the recorded teachings of Xingsi and Mazu were at Yanshou's disposal and he inadvertently copied from the contents of these manuscripts without noticing the overlap. Why the overlap existed in the first place is a question that is unanswerable. Factors that strongly favor a Mazu genesis for the teachings (at least the first overlapping fragment cited above) are the reliance on the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and the character of Hongzhou Chan teaching exhibited in its contents. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* is commonly associated with Mazu's teaching. The mani pearl analogy is used in a way that concurs with Zongmi's characterization of Hongzhou Chan teaching. The teachings attributed to Mazu here are further corroborated in texts written by Hongzhou Chan masters, like the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials for Transmitting the Mind Dharma) by Huangbo Xiyun. Judging from this, it would appear that the teachings attributed to Xingsi in the ZJL, at least in part, are derivatives of the teachings attributed to Mazu.[192]

The Inclusion of Non-Chan Masters in the Chan Lineage

Given the parameters with which Yanshou defines Chan in the ZJL, according to his definition of *zong*, the inclusion of non-Chan lineage masters as Chan masters is commonplace and would seem to be unremarakble to warrant a separate category of investigation. But we are concerned not with the broad definition of *zong* here, but with the specific parameters governing the inclusion of masters under the category of Chan lineages.

A fragment in the ZJL is attributed to Reverend Nanyue Sida 南嶽思大和尚, in other words, Reverend Si the Great of Nanyue. I have been unable to locate the passage elsewhere, and some question surrounds Nanyue Sida's identity. According to a note in the Taishō edition of the ZJL, the Ming edition of the canon identifies Reverend Nanyue Sida with Zhigong 志公, otherwise known as Baozhi 寶誌, a figure who is cited regularly in the ZJL (as Zhigong).[193] The ZJL passage reads as follows. Yet it is most probable that Reverend Nanyue Sida is a reference to Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思, the famed Tiantai master who is honored as the school's second patriarch and the teacher of Zhiyi.[194] The ZJL passage reads as follows.[195]

南嶽思大和尚云。若言學者。先須通心。心若得通。一切法一時盡通。聞說淨不生淨念。即是本自淨。聞說空。不取空。譬如鳥飛於空。若住於空。必有墮落之患。無住。是本自性體寂。而生其心。是照用。即寂是自性定。即照是自性慧。即定是慧體。即慧是定用。離定無別慧。離慧無別定。即定之時即是慧。即慧之時即是定。即定之時無有定。即慧之時無有慧。何以故。性自如故。如燈光雖有二名。其體不別。即燈是光。即光是燈。離燈無別光。離光無別燈。即燈是光體。即光是燈用。即定慧雙修。不相去離。

The Great Reverend Si of Nanyue said: "If you speak of studying, you must in the first place understand mind. If you can understand mind, all dharmas in an instant will be thoroughly understood. Hearing explanations of purity but not producing notions of purity is the purity of your original self. Hearing explanations of emptiness and not grasping emptiness is comparable to a bird flying in the sky. If it lands in the sky, it will surely worry about falling. There is no place to land. The essence of your original self-nature is calm, yet it produces the mind. [Mind] is luminous functioning. Calmness is the meditation of self-nature. Luminosity is the wisdom of self-nature. Meditation is the essence of wisdom. Wisdom is the function of meditation. There is no wisdom apart from meditation. There is no meditation apart from wisdom. When there is meditation, there is wisdom. When there is wisdom, there is meditation. When there is meditation, there is no meditation. When there is wisdom, there is no wisdom. Why? It is because self-nature is like this. For example, even though the lamp and the light have two names, their essences are not different. The lamp is the light, and the light is the lamp. There is no other light apart from the lamp; there is no other lamp apart from the light. The lamp is the essence of the light; the light is the function of the lamp. Meditation and wisdom are cultivated together, not in isolation of each other."

Yanagida Seizan claims the metaphor of the lamp and light in the ZJL fragment here derives from the *Tanyu* 檀語 (Platform Talks) of Shenhui, while the discussion of the combined practice of meditation and wisdom are closely connected to the teachings of the fifth-generation heir of the Tiantai 天台 school, Xuanlang 玄朗.[196] The fragment recorded in the ZJL is also highly reminiscent of the teaching regarding the nondual character of meditation and wisdom in the *Platform Sūtra*,[197] which also picked up these themes.

Yet what is significant is not these associations, but the inclusion of a Tiantai master (if the assumption that Sida is Huisi, inferred above, is correct) in

the Chan lineage. The line separating Chan and Tiantai was not always as sharp as factional demands suggest. The notion of lineage itself is common to both schools, and Chan's assumption of a transmission of Indian Buddhist patriarchs borrowed from and paralleled similar claims made by the Tiantai school. It was not unusual for Chinese Buddhists to consider Chan and Tiantai as two species of a common *chan* 禪 (meditation) movement. The literatus monk Zanning 贊寧 certainly shared this opinion,[198] and given the importance of Mt. Tiantai as a sacred center in Yanshou's native region, Wuyue, it is easy to see how easily Yanshou might incorporate Tiantai monks within the Chan fold. As mentioned above, given the broad parameters with which Yanshou defined Chan, it was natural for him to include non-Chan monks under his Chan rubric. In this case, he goes the extra step of including a Tiantai monk in the Chan lineage framework.

Nanyue Sida is not the only questionable master in the ZJL to be included in the ranks of Chan lineage masters. Another for whom this occurred was a monk by the name of Fazhao 法照. Chan master Fazhao is normally identified with the master of the same name who thrived in the mid-Tang and was honored as the fourth patriarch among the seven patriarchs of the Pure Land Lotus Society.[199] In 767, he held a *nianfo* assembly to chant the name of Amitabha at Yunfeng Monastery 雲峰寺 in Hengzhou 衡州 (Hunan), and thereafter was invited to the capital by Emperor Daizong, where he instructed the court on forming a *nianfo* assembly. In the *Song gaoseng chuan*, Zanning classifies Fazhao as a "miracle worker" (*gantong* 感通).[200] In addition to the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lue fashi yizan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚 (Ritual Praises for the Dharma Ceremony Outlining the Five Tempo Buddha Recitation of the Pure Land),[201] the discovery of a Dunhuang manuscript, the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo songjing guangxingyi* 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀 (Ceremony for Intoning the Buddha's Name, Reciting Scripture, and Performing Meditation According to the Five Tempos of the Pure Land), attributed to Fazhao, further strengthens his Pure Land credentials.[202]

It is interesting to note, however, that Yanshou clearly identifies Fazhao as a "Chan master" 禪師, and the fragment excerpt selected makes no mention of the Pure Land or any other devotional related practice. Is it possible that a Chan master by the name of Fazhao other than the Pure Land–oriented master is intended here? There is a master Fazhao of Shuzhou 舒州法照禪師 listed among the disciples of Hongren.[203] The fragment attributed to Fazhao in the ZJL discusses the pervasiveness of universal mind, and the need to make this as the basis of one's realization.[204]

> 法照禪師云。經云。三阿僧祇百千名號。皆是如來異名。即真心之別稱也。又經云。萬法不出一心。此義是也。夫縛從心縛。解從

心解。縛解從心。不關餘事。出要之術。唯有觀心。乃至若舉一心門。一切唯一心。若一法非心。則是心外有。誰能在心外。別制一條者。

Chan master Fazhao said:

When the scriptures [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] say: "I [in this realm of suffering] have had a hundred thousand identities over three aeons,"[205] they are all different names of the Tathāgata, and are different designations of the true mind.

Furthermore, when the scriptures say: "The myriad dharmas are not distinct from universal mind,"[206] this is what it means: entanglements are entanglements derived from mind, liberation is liberation derived from mind; entanglements and liberation derive from mind. They are not connected to any other concerns. The only important technique is mind contemplation. And if you raise the topic of universal mind, everything is universal mind. Any dharma that is not mind exists apart from mind. Whoever is able to exist apart from mind belongs to an independently established order.

The citation of the line from the *Lankavatāra sūtra* is also attributed to Mazu Daoyi in the ZJL. Both use the line to establish a similar point. When Mazu cites the line "I [in this realm of suffering] have had a hundred thousand identities over three aeons," he uses it to establish the unique character of the world and its circumstances, likening it to the mani pearl, which assumes the color of whatever object it reflects. By extension, Mazu affirms that mind, regardless of what it exhibits, is universally present through its luminosity. Chan master Fazhao cites the same line to similar effect—all differences (in this case the different names assumed by the Tathāgata over time) are simply variations of true mind.

The case of Fazaho in the ZJL appears to be either that of presenting a different image of a master familiar to us as a Pure Land prelate or that of providing information about a hitherto obscure Chan master, previously known to us by name alone. In either case, it underscores the significance of the ZJL for the potential information it provides regarding Chan sources.

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6

The Buddhist School of Principle and the Early Song Intellectual Terrain

Until recently, scholars of Buddhism in China focused on the Tang or pre-Tang periods, under the assumption that the Tang represented the "golden age" of Chinese Buddhism, and paid scant attention to post-Tang developments. Scholarship on Confucianism, on the other hand, focused almost exclusively on those Song developments that produced the orthodox Lixue 理學 (study of principle) school of Neo-Confucianism, to the neglect of other and broader intellectual interests and engagements. Currently, Chinese Buddhist scholars pay serious attention to post-Tang developments, and it is common to regard the presumptions of an earlier era as passé. Scholars of Confucianism also have revealed how Lixue was but one stream of a much broader Songxue 宋學 (Song Learning) phenomenon. A few scholars, myself included, have begun to wade into the subject of Buddhist and Neo-Confucian interactions, with an eye toward expanding our understanding beyond the pious apologetics and strident polemics that post-Tang Buddhist-Confucian discourse was reduced to. As a result, seemingly irrefutable categories like "Confucian" and "Buddhist" are no longer as rigid as they once appeared. Given Lixue anti-Buddhist polemics, there seemed to be no doubt regarding the respective positions of the two camps and the divisions separating them. The strength of these polemics has been overwhelming. According to official Lixue orthodoxy, all literati shared in denouncing Buddhism, and any Buddhist-inspired compromise lacked legitimacy. It was also inconceivable that Buddhists, given

their ideological preferences, would join in the "Confucian" cause. By ceding the power to define what constitutes "Confucianism" and to delimit sharp boundaries between "Confucians" and "Buddhists" to Lixue proponents, we limited our ability to understand the wide-ranging views that constituted literati ideology. When we speak of literati, we are not speaking, in the first place, about an ideological perspective determined as "Confucian," "Buddhist," or "Daoist." Rather, we are speaking about a shared commitment to the tradition of *ru* 儒 (literati and literary culture), not as it often understood in the restricted sense of a tradition initiated by Confucius and confined to his followers, but as in the broader tradition of Chinese belles lettres. In this sense, the *ru* in China are best understood not as "Confucians" but as belletrists with shared values, who may also exhibit propensities toward Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist teachings, or some combination thereof.

As an application of this approach, I would like to remap the intellectual terrain occupied by a wide variety of *ru* in the early Song period in an attempt to give greater recognition to the broad range of intellectual positions possible, beyond the rather static categories of "Confucian" and "Buddhists." One great oversight I must admit from the outset is the neglect of any Daoist-inclined *ru* from consideration. Daoist activity, it seems, was relatively minor in the early decades of the Song that I am concerned with here, but became more significant with the rise of Quanzhen Jiao 全真教 (Teaching of Complete Perfection) faction later in the Song.[1] I leave it to others who have more knowledge than I do to correct this impression. I hope that my efforts will inspire others to do the same for later periods, to construct a richer and more nuanced picture of the variety of possibilities and combinations that characterize post-Tang ideologies.

With regard to my characterization of ideological possibilities in the early Song, I am particularly interested in comparing this range with the typology suggested by the Japanese scholar Araki Kengo, whose pioneering efforts on Song and Ming Buddhism and Confucianism have left a map to be followed. Araki's work suggests how Buddhism, particularly the Linji Chan faction, played an instrumental part in the later Song/Ming intellectual milieu. Araki depicts the intellectual culture of the Song and Ming periods in terms of three ideological types: the Neo-Confucian School of Principle 理學, represented by Zhu Xi 朱熹; the Neo-Confucian School of Mind 心學, represented by Wang Yangming 王陽明; and the Chan Mind School 禪心宗, represented by the Linji faction 臨濟宗. When this typology is applied to the early Song intellectual milieu, I allege that a crucial component is missing from Araki's depiction. This missing component stems from representatives of Buddhism other than Linji faction Chan. These "missing Buddhists" were comprised of two groups: Confucian monks (*ruseng* 儒僧) who even went so far as to recommend that

monks accept the Confucian agenda of the "neoclassical literature" (*guwen* 古文) movement, and doctrinal Buddhists (*jiaoli seng* 教理僧), traditionalists who believed in a moral and principled approach to Buddhism and resisted interpreting Buddhism in terms dictated by Linji Chan. Together, these Buddhists constituted a fourth group, what I have termed the Buddhist School of Principle. Yongming Yanshou was a leading representative of this latter group and had a profound impact on the influence the Buddhist School of Principle exerted during the Song. My presentation explores the implications that follow from inserting this new Buddhist group into the mix. Before entertaining these possibilities, I begin with a discussion of the nature of the early Song intellectual terrain.

Songxue 宋學 (Song Learning) versus Daoxue 道學 (Learning of the Way)

In the past, scholars of Chinese history often reduced intellectual developments to simple formulae.[2] Especially pertinent in this context was the assumption that the Tang period was the "golden age" of Buddhism in China, and that Buddhism was eclipsed in the Song by the reassertion of Confucianism as the central ideology of Chinese culture. Admittedly, there is truth to this formula. Buddhism certainly flowered in the Tang, with a profusion of schools and doctrines, prominent institutions and illustrious masters, to become a distinguishing feature of Chinese civilization during this period. Confucianism, indeed, rose again to a position of prominence in the Song, where it profoundly shaped literati values and state policy. Yet to reduce a major intellectual trend to a comprehensive account of an entire period does little but create a monolithic narrative of mythic proportions that renders many (most?) other intellectual trends beyond the pale of assumed orthodoxies. Recent scholarship exposes the damage done to our understanding of intellectual movements that did not conform to the master narrative enforced upon a particular period. Confucians were hardly silent or inactive during the Tang, as David McMullen's work *State and Scholars in T'ang China* has shown.[3] Buddhism was hardly reduced to the moribund status that is often attributed to it in the Song, as demonstrated by the conference volume *Buddhism in the Sung*, where it was even suggested that the sobriquet "golden age" is more appropriate for Buddhism in the Song than in the Tang.[4] These trends pointed to the shortcomings of prior scholarly understanding and the need for more nuanced and sophisticated ways at looking at intellectual and cultural trends during these periods.

Confucian scholars have suggested making a sharp distinction between the terms Daoxue 道學 (Learning of the Way) and Songxue 宋學 (Song Learning) as one way of addressing the problem.[5] These terms were once used somewhat interchangeably, as if they suggested the same phenomena. In more nuanced usage, Songxue, or "Song Learning," refers broadly to the revival of interest in classical learning, especially the study of Confucian classics and literary pursuits during the Song dynasty, particularly the Northern Song. Daoxue, the "Learning of the Way," refers to a narrowly focused group among the Songxue scholars who were interested in the revival of Confucianism as state orthodoxy. In specific terms, Daoxue indicates the march from the Cheng 程 brothers and Zhang Zai 張載 to Zhu Xi, a perspective that enshrines them as representatives of a new Confucian orthodoxy.[6] As a result, Song Daoxue texts came to be viewed as the foundation for Song-Ming Lixue 理學, the "Study of Principle," the orthodox school of Neo-Confucianism that culminated in the thought of Zhu Xi. This resulted in the tendency to reduce the currents of Song thought to Daoxue and preparations for Zhu Xi. Not only did this way of looking at Song thought exaggerate the role of Zhu Xi and his predecessors, it also served to marginalize figures belonging to other intellectual currents who did not participate in the process of affirming Daoxue as orthodoxy.

When viewed from the perspective of Songxue rather than Daoxue, the intellectual developments of the Song look quite different from how Daoxue advocates (and their followers in modern scholarship) view them. From this perspective, Daoxue appears as one current, albeit an eventually influential one, within the larger stream of Song intellectual thought. Yet the alteration of our understanding of the meaning of Songxue and the role it played still does not exhaust the intellectual possibilities available in the early Song. If Buddhism was a significant component of the Song literati intellectual terrain, how should it be accounted for? In order to reflect the Buddhist currents in Song thought, I have added two categories, Foxue (Study of Buddhism) and Chanxue (Chan Studies), in an attempt to incorporate Buddhist-inspired contributions. The addition of two Buddhist categories, rather than one, will come as a surprise to many. The addition of a single category, Chanxue, would more or less concur with Araki's suggestion (albeit in a different context) for the inclusion of a Buddhist perspective amid the Neo-Confucian milieu dominated by the School of Principle (Lixue) and School of Mind (Xinxue). Chanxue more or less complies with the Chan Mind School in Araki's typology. My analysis, discussed below, suggests that another Buddhist category, Foxue, needs to be added, at least in the case of the early Song. Both categories, Foxue and Chanxue, suggest how literati monks (*wenseng* 文僧) participated in *ru* debates in an attempt to validate their own traditions as legitimate aspects of China's

culture. The key point is that all literati monks were not alike in their perspective and that significant ideological divisions separated them. The assumption of a uniform Buddhist position is not simply an oversight connected to Araki's typology, but may be traced to anti-Buddhist polemics initiated by Neo-Confucians, especially advocates of the Neo-Confucian School of Principle. My analysis suggests that just as it has become apparent that all of Confucianism cannot be reduced to Daoxue or Lixue, it is now time to acknowledge the need to understand Buddhism from a perspective free of Daoxue and Lixue ideology.

The Nature of the Literary Revival in the Song Dynasty: A Typology of Confucian and Buddhist Participants

The following typology is based on representative figures within the intellectual world of the Song. The figures I have chosen are all from the early years of the Song. Part of my contention is that the main strains of Song intellectualism were evident from the start, and that the future intellectual developments of the Song, and even beyond, can be traced to these early strains. The typology introduced here is intended to be representative rather than comprehensive. Typologies by their nature are reductive and prone to simplify complex issues. The types introduced here are intended to be representative of a range of possibilities that characterized the Song intellectual environment.

The *wen* 文 (literary) movement of the early Song produced a variety of perspectives. Differences between perspectives were muted by the common goal of creating a new social order based on literary values, widely conceived. This literary venture was sponsored by the early Song emperors Taizu (r. 960–76), Taizong (r. 976–97) and Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), who consciously espoused *wen* over *wu* 武 (martial spirit) in an attempt to reverse the tide of war and chaos that had plagued China since the late Tang.[7] Regardless of the common purpose that united them, certain fault lines can be detected that divide individual proponents of *wen* according to the type of *wen* they espoused and the parameters of what *wen* included. In the following, I group the differences in early Song interpretations of *wen* into six types, including Confucians and Buddhists. The discussion is not random, but proceeds along a spectrum starting with more conservative and restrictive interpreters of *wen* to liberal and open perspectives.

At one end of the spectrum, we find figures in group one like Liu Kai 柳開 (954–1000).[8] Liu Kai linked the *wen* revival in the Song to the *wen* of antiquity (*guwen* 古文) and saw himself as in a line of sages that extended from Mencius to himself, through Han Yu 韓愈. Although Han Yu was well regarded in the

early Song by *wen* proponents, Liu Kai distinguished himself by proclaiming the exclusivity of Han Yu's *guwen* for inculcating true values. According to Liu, the mind and *wen* are united: the mind represented the internal structure of *wen* as external appearance. As a result, the mind inside one is master of external manifestations, suggesting a role for *wen* as an instrument for rectifying the mind and attaining sagehood. To effect this, proper *wen* models must be selected. For Liu Kai, only the writings of Confucius, Mencius, Yang Xiong 揚雄, and Han Yu were to be included; the classics, histories, and writings of the "hundred schools" were not open for consideration as true *wen*.[9] In the context of early Song tolerance to different perspectives, Liu Kai's positions branded him as a strident moralist and exclusivist.

The second group includes literary figures at the Song court who represented more moderate positions, combining a firm moralism with wide literary and cultural interests. In contrast to Liu Kai, Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001) demonstrated how the moral resolve typical of *guwen* advocates did not necessarily lead to a wholesale rejection of other types of *wen*.[10] Wang maintained that only writings modeled after the classics and five constants deserved to be regarded as *wen*, but believed that a broad appreciation of writings that fell outside the definition of *wen* were not necessarily harmful.[11] Similarly, Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917–92) was a stern and conservative Confucian by nature, but displayed a wide range of interests, including painting and calligraphy.[12] In spite of their tolerance, literati in this group shared with their staunch *guwen* allies in the first group a general antipathy toward Buddhism, seeing the Buddhist clergy as an idle and unproductive class, as a burden to the Chinese economy, and as promoting false spiritual claims.[13]

The third group comprises Buddhists with a serious interest in *guwen*, sometimes referred to as "Confucian monks" (*ruseng* 儒僧).[14] The most prominent representative of this group in the early Song was the literatus monk Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), but it also included monks like Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022). These were monks who established strong reputations among secular literati for their literary abilities, including an acknowledged expertise over Confucian classics. The likes of Zanning and Zhiyuan openly accepted the Confucian premises of Chinese society, even going so far as to teach *guwen* principles to members of the Buddhist clergy.[15] While acknowledging the fundamental precepts of Confucianism as necessary to anyone who aspired to "this culture" (*siwen* 斯文), they also maintained a need to change with the times while continuing the ancient tradition.[16] Essentially, this served as a pretext for a Three Teaching syncretism that acknowledged the valid contributions of each to China's *wen* tradition. *Ru* learning 儒學, in effect, was not circumscribed by narrowly defined Confucian interpretation that excluded others, but

incorporated and validated the legitimate contributions of Buddhism (and Daoism) to China's *ru* heritage.

In the early Song, Zanning proposed a concrete plan for managing China's multiideological tradition. Zanning illustrates his plan through a three-legged sacrificial *ding* 鼎 vessel, an analogy found in the work of Zhiyuan as well, where each leg represents one of the Three Teachings (Sanjiao 三教). If one leg is missing, the vessel will fall over.

Zanning's position is summarized in his conclusion to the *Seng shilue* 僧史略, where he speaks of the "grand strategy of the Three Teachings" 三教之大猷.[17] The "grand strategy" is Zanning's own way of speaking about the "great plan" (*hongfan* 弘範), a euphemism for the emperor's stratagem for governing the empire. Zanning's "grand strategy" posits the emperor as the undisputed head of the Chinese state and leader of Chinese society and the legitimate supervisor of the Buddhist religion. As each of China's Three Teachings—Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism—has a legitimate position in the function of the state, it is the duty of the emperor to supervise the activities of each and direct them in accordance with the aims of the state. As a mark of Buddhism's accession to full status as a participant in China's *wen* tradition, Zanning cedes absolute authority to the emperor and, by implication, to his secular establishment.

The fourth group includes Buddhists who maintained a traditional approach to Buddhist teaching, and were on familiar terms with secular literati, but were ill disposed toward *guwen*. While members of this group worked closely with literati supporters, they maintained their integrity as traditional Buddhist masters providing teachings and ritual occasions to followers in order to enhance their religious cultivation. Yanshou, though he did not live long enough to experience life at the Song court, provided a model for the preservation of traditional Buddhist practice in the Song. The programs of the Tiantai school monks Shengchang 省常 (959–1020) and Zhili 知禮 (960–1028) aimed at furthering Buddhist piety undoubtedly owe a debt to Yanshou.

Yanshou's views are evident from his two major works, the *Zongjing lu* and the *Wanshan tonggui ji*. Yanshou essentially follows Zhiyi's and Zongmi's lead by incorporating Confucianism and Daoism as preparatory teachings to Buddhism, but unlike Zongmi, Yanshou is not interested in creating a divisive scheme of Buddhist teachings. Nonetheless, it would be shortsighted to suggest that Yanshou did not have preferences regarding the superiority of the Buddhist teachings he discusses. Since the mirror (*jing*) is a metaphor for mind (*xin*), the *Zongjing lu* is really an exposition of Buddhist *xinjiao* 心教 (mind teaching). Buddhist mind teaching, according to Yanshou, culminates with Chan, but not the aggressive and self-destructive rhetoric of "classic" Chan,

epitomized by the Linji faction. For Yanshou, Chan incorporates the different doctrines and practices associated with Buddhist mind teaching developed throughout the history of Buddhism. In terms of scriptural sources, Yanshou shows preference for the *Lotus sūtra* and Tiantai scriptures, but also exhibits fondness for other classic Mahāyāna sources: Huayan, Sanlun/Madhyamaka, and Faxiang/Yogācāra. In a word, Yanshou's schema is less divisive and more compliant. All good deeds (*wanshan*), according to Yanshou, propel one toward a common end (*tonggui* 同歸), nirvāṇa 涅槃, the comprehensive and inclusive source (*zong*) of all truth.

The fifth group comprises secular literati who maintained positions contrary to *guwen* principles, and includes literati who openly espoused a new kind of *wen* built around freeing *wen* (and the individuals who championed it) from artificial constraints. Yang Yi (974–1020) was an advocate of *wen* as literary refinement and individual creativity, and saw Chan literature as a vehicle for true *wen* expression. Yang Yi is well known for his editorial directorship of the classic Chan transmission record the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. As editor, Yang Yi reconceived the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* in terms of the dictates of Linji Chan principles, in particular as demonstrating the Chan claim to be "a special practice outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biexing* 教外別行), a variant of the Chan slogan "a special transmission outside the teaching" (*jiaowai biechuan*) that came into vogue in the early Song. In doing so, Yang Yi reinterpreted the *Fozu tongcan ji* 佛祖同參集 (Anthology of the Uniform Practice of Buddhas and Patriarchs), a work originally compiled by Fayan faction Chan monk Daoyuan 道原 (dates unknown) that intended to signal just the opposite—the commonality between the practice (and teaching) of the Buddhas and Chan patriarchs.[18] Daoyuan's approach to the compatibility between Chan and Buddhist teaching would make him a likely fit with the fourth group monks (above). Yang Yi's ambitions for Chan were fully exhibited in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*天聖廣燈錄 (Expanded Lamp Record Compiled in the Tiansheng Era), compiled by Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988–1038) expressly to document the achievements of Linji faction monks in the early Song, treated below in the sixth group.[19] Yang Yi and Li Zunxu also both took up positions as Chan students and assumed status within the Chan lineage. Through their compilation of Chan literary records, Yang Yi and Li Zunxu strove to achieve a unique literary identity for the Song, fulfilling the ambitions of the Song emperors Zhenzong (r. 998–1022) and Renzong (r. 1022–63) to distinguish the Song's cultural accomplishments. While Taizu and Taizong emulated the Tang dynasty through massive literary projects aimed at enshrining the legacy of the past, Zhenzong and Renzong sought to establish a new and distinctly Song literary identity.[20]

The sixth group is comprised of the Linji faction Chan monks whom Yang Yi and his compatriots championed. The main expositors (in fact, the virtual creators) of Linji Chan in the early Song were Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–93) and his disciples. As mentioned above, the Linji faction was memorialized by Li Zunxu in the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu*.[21] These monks, along with their literati supporters, were responsible for establishing the classic image of Chan memorialized in the "records of sayings" (*yulu*) literature, especially through what have come to be known as encounter dialogues. This literature, largely compiled in the early Song, established Chan as a new species of spirituality utilizing a novel literary form that emphasized witty and paradoxical episodes, profound and insightful dialogue, nonsensical utterances, iconoclastic behavior, beating and shouting, and so on. The point of these exercises was not aimed at acquiring merit or understanding, the raison d'etre of conventional Buddhist practice, but to precipitate a sudden awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟) into the truth, to realize Buddhahood for oneself.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, the six literati groups in the early Song may be briefly categorized as in table 6.1.

As mentioned at the outset, the six groups included here do not exhaust the possibilities or combinations available to literati in the Song period, but only provide some indication of the range of possibilities. Groups 1 and 2 are united in their staunch devotion to *guwen* principles, and constitute a basis out of which the Daoxue movement and Neo-Confucian orthodoxy will later derive. Groups 3 and 4 are both committed to traditional Mahayana Buddhist principles. Even if they count themselves as members of the Chan school (as did members of the so-called Fayan Chan faction), they renounce Chan exclusivism in favor of advocating a principled validation of traditional practices and teachings. Groups 5 and 6 both honor the exclusivist position of Linji Chan rhetoric

TABLE 6.1 Typology of Daoxue 道學 Confucians and literati monks 文僧 in the early Song

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6
Type	Intolerant *guwen* (*bu kuanrong guwen* 不寬容古文)	Tolerant *guwen* (*kuanrong guwen* 寬容古文)	Confucian monks (*sengru* 儒僧)	Doctrinal Buddhists (*jiaoli seng* 教理僧)	Chan literati (*chan wenren* 禪文人)	Linji Chan (*linji chan* 臨濟禪)
Expounders	(Han Yu 韓愈) Liu Kai 柳開	Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 Xu Xuan 徐鉉	Zanning 贊寧 Zhiyuan 智圓 Qisong 契嵩	Yanshou 延壽 Shengchang 省常 Zhili 知禮	Yang Yi 楊億 Li Zunxu 李遵勗	(Yixuan 義玄) Shengnian 省念

as "a special transmission outside the teaching." The individual groups are not always as rigid as my analysis would have them appear, and one can detect some movement across the boundaries, and not just between natural allies as outlined above. Already, I have noted how Confucian monks of group 3 attempted to ally themselves with the tolerant *guwen* of group 2. In addition, Chan literati of group 5 also were actively engaged with and supported the doctrinal Buddhists of group 4.

Group 5 is of particular note for the influences it exerted on Neo-Confucianism. In spite of the gulf that separates Chan from Neo-Confucianism in terms of their basic principles, Neo-Confucianism is hardly conceivable except as a reaction to notions precipitated by Chan and Buddhist teaching.[22] Linji Chan assumed dominance within Buddhism in the Song dynasty and beyond, and when orthodox Neo-Confucians adopt a critical tone toward Buddhism, it is usually in reference specifically to the Linji Chan school. While I do not dispute the dominant position of the Linji faction within Chan and the larger tradition of Buddhism from the Song on, this assumption has frequently been overstated. There are two interrelated reasons for this. On the one hand, the overstatement is attributable to a failure to acknowledge the activities of non-Linji and non-Chan Buddhist groups during the Song, groups whose importance has only recently come to light. More problematic, however, have been assumptions by Chan and Buddhist historians regarding the virtual monopoly of all things Buddhist by the Linji faction in the Song, a presumption that has allowed Neo-Confucian scholars, quite naturally, to assume the same. Neo-Confucian scholars have been unwittingly abetted by the likes of Zhu Xi and Neo-Confucian orthodoxy itself, which tends to conflate traditional Buddhism and Linji Chan rhetoric to its advantage, as the situation warrants. In other words, as Chan rhetoric tends to validate Neo-Confucian criticisms of Buddhism, it is advantageous for Neo-Confucians to ignore distinctions within Buddhism that might serve to undermine their position. Forms of Buddhism grounded on moral principle do not square with the picture of Buddhism (i.e., Linji Chan) that Neo-Confucian critics like to paint.

As instructive as an analysis of possibilities stemming from the early Song milieu may be, it would be a mistake to apply them uncritically to later periods. Each period has its own distinctive character, and presents its own unique range of possibilities. Having said this, however, one would be equally remiss in denying the relevance of the early Song possibilities reviewed here to other periods. I am particularly interested in reflecting on the implications that this typology from the early Song period has for our understanding of the relation between Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism.

In the first place, the early Song typology suggests the inadequate and biased way Daoxue Neo-Confucianists tended to reduce all of Buddhism to the

iconoclastic and antimoralist rhetoric of Linji Chan teaching, as stated above. This made Buddhism, in the eyes of its Daoxue critics, the antithesis of their own principled moralism. The principled Buddhism advocated by groups 3 and 4 was also ethically based, albeit in Buddhist moral rules. While the acknowledgment of a morally based Buddhism would probably not have won over the likes of Zhu Xi, it would have forced Daoxue proponents to approach their criticisms of Buddhism with more finesse, allowing for more nuanced treatment of the different kinds of Buddhist teachings.

The typology introduced here also allows for a greater array of approaches in dealing with Buddhist-Confucian relations. Rather than permitting the debate to be reduced simply to pro- and anti-Buddhist polemics, the reality of the early Song suggests that there were a variety of attitudes. "Confucian" literati were involved in "Buddhist" debates, and "Buddhists" could participate in debates along with "Confucians," if it is even appropriate to reduce identities to these essentialist terms.[23] My study here suggests that reliance on such categories can be problematic, as participants in debates blur easily definable lines, as, for example, in the case of "Confucian monks" or "Chan literati." That this blurring is not simply a by-product of this period but an ongoing phenomenon is made evident in the frequent engagement between Confucians and Buddhists in the Song and Ming, and the persistent efforts of Neo-Confucians to define and redefine the boundaries between them.

The Modification of Araki Kengo's Typology: The Early Song Context

Perhaps the most illuminating examples of the deficiencies of conceiving the Song and post-Song intellectual world in terms of Daoxue orthodoxy and the limitations imposed by the exclusion of Buddhism from consideration are found in the late Ming. As Araki Kengo has noted, "the most remarkable development in the world of thought in the late Ming was the revival of Buddhism, as it kept pace with the overwhelming popularity of the School of Wang Yangming, while at the same time the authority of the School of Zhu Xi rapidly declined."[24] Unlike Zhu Xi, who deliberately criticized Buddhist teachings, Wang Yangming 王陽明 consciously incorporated Buddhist ideas into Confucian discourse.[25] In doing so, he precipitated the revival of Chan, not only among literati but also among Chan monks. In addition to relying on the literati for material support, Chan "[relied] on the literati for intellectual, even spiritual guidance because as experts in handling China's rich literary tradition, [including] Chan literature . . . the literati had the necessary textual authority

over Chan's textualized past."[26] Wang's influence precipitated a Three Teaching syncretism that intermingles the Three Teachings as a unity. Following Wang's lead, Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540–1620) is representative: "they [the Three Teachings] were 'one' not in the sense that they were united as different parts of a composite assemblage but in the sense that they had the fused integrity of a single entity and were mutually identified and indistinguishable."[27]

Along with the Wang Yangming school and Chan Buddhism, Three Teachings syncretism flourished in the Ming.[28] These developments cannot be accounted for in the trajectory of Daoxue, which only validates the Cheng-Zhu 程朱 School of Principle 理學 and its exclusivist Confucian approach as orthodox. This suggests a very different relationship between the Wang Yangming School and Buddhism, fostering not only a Chan revival but a nonexclusivist syncretism that treats the Three Teachings as equal contributors. What essential connection exists between the Wang Yangming school and Buddhism to allow for these developments? Araki's discussion is particularly insightful in defining the basic character of the teachings of Zhu Xi, Wang Yangming, and Buddhism, by way of clarifying the connections between them. I begin by describing Araki's characterization of Ming Confucianism.[29]

The Zhu Xi School and the Wang Yangming are categorized by Araki in familiar terms as the School of Principle (Lixue) and the School of Mind (Xinxue), respectively. As Araki reminds us, however, the Zhu Xi School of Principle is really a variant of the School of Mind. According to Zhu Xi School Confucianism, *li* is intrinsic to the heavenly endowed mind (*xin*), thus making principle inherent in nature (*xing* 性). The focus on mind in Song Confucian discourse is the legacy of Buddhism, especially Chan. The term *xinxue* 心學 is originally a Buddhist term for learning about focusing and stabilizing the mind, or the learning of samādhi (*dingxue* 定學), but by the Song period its Buddhist meaning was largely subsumed under Chan as the "Mind School" 心宗. The "learning of the mind" 心學 in Song Chan Buddhism "indicates the position that one totally trusts the mind as the integrating and unifying substance of life and believes that by realizing it one can open the gate to enlightenment. . . . The mind in Chan Buddhism is the unifying substance which embraces both subject and object, spirit and body, internal and external worlds."[30] Chan, the Mind School, with its emphasis on the mind as the original root and integrating substance, the key for understanding the nature of reality including both noumenal and phenomenal realms, had a major impact on the development of both branches of the Neo-Confucianism, the School of Principle and the School of Mind.

The major dispute Zhu Xi had with Chan was its failure to acknowledge the authority of principle inherent in the mind. The notion of inherent principle

amounts to the recognition of a moral standard that governs one's behavior. According to Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, principle clearly distinguishes right from wrong and provides a standard of stability and order to our actions. Chan, however, yields authority over action to a mind removed from distinctions between subject and object and principles that distinguish right from wrong, and lacks a criterion for judging actions as proper or improper. According to the Chan adage "Let the mind be free," the individual is exempt from conventional rules of etiquette and morality, to act automatically and spontaneously according to the dictates of his or her own unencumbered mind.[31] As Araki comments:

> In contradistinction to the claim of the School of Mind in Chan that "all things are constructed by the mind," the School of Principle asserts that "under Heaven nothing is nobler than Principle." From the point of view of the School of Principle, Chan resembles a markless scale; it ignores the laws governing the objective world and handles things through mere imagination. Thus Zhu Xi says that "Buddhism knows about emptiness only and does not know there is a principle in emptiness," and that "in Buddhism there is a transcendental brilliance but no Mean." Principle may be regarded as restrictive of the free activity of the mind, but, in reality, it furnished a moderation and direction. And when the mind comes to function in accordance with principle, significant changes will inevitably be generated in its inner structure.[32]

In addition to the Neo-Confucian School of Principle and the Chan Mind School, there developed in the Song dynasty a third position, between these two. This third school became known as the Neo-Confucian School of Mind. The Neo-Confucian School of Mind, it goes without saying, is distinct from the Chan Mind School, even though they share the same name, the "School of Mind." The School of Mind in Neo-Confucianism differed from the Chan School of Mind in that it did not reject principle; it also differed from the Neo-Confucian School of Principle, which adhered more closely to the dominance and precedence of principle. The Neo-Confucian School of Mind still appealed to the authority of principle, but subordinated it to the functioning capacity of mind. In other words, the Neo-Confucian School of Mind attempted to retain the mind's innate vitality and spontaneity, as determined by Chan, yet also insisted that mind was inherently principled. Rather than principle being endowed with nature, as Zhu Xi School Confucianism insisted (as with the axiom "Nature is principle" 性即理), the Lu Xiangshan School of Mind determined that principle itself was an aspect of the innate functioning of mind

TABLE 6.2 Three major schools of thought in the Ming dynasty

School	Neo-Confucian School of Principle (Lixue 理學)	Neo-Confucian School of Mind (Xinxue 心學)	Chan School of Mind (Xinzong 心宗)
Main tenet	"Nature is principle." (*xing ji li* 性即理)	"Mind is principle." (*xin ji li* 心即理)	"Mind is nature." (*xin ji xing* 心即性)

(as with the axiom "Mind is principle" 心即理).[33] Table 6.2 summarizes Araki's position regarding these three major schools of thought.[34]

As Araki indicates, while terminology is often shared across Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism, this does not mean that it is used consistently.[35] When the tenet "Mind is nature" is put forth in Chan, it refers to the innate existence of "Buddha-nature" (*foxing* 佛性) in the mind. When the Neo-Confucian School of Principle states "Nature is principle," the nature spoken of here, of course, is not Buddha-nature, but the heavenly endowed nature as understood in Confucian terms.

While Araki's depiction of the intellectual terrain in terms of three schools of thought may work well for the Ming, how applicable is it to the Song context? In the first place, Zhu Xi thought was not established as the basis of curricular exams until the Yuan dynasty, or the late Song at the very earliest, so its influence over *ru* orthodoxy was very limited until then.[36] Moreover, the appeal of the Lu Xiangshan's School of Mind, while significant, did not exert the kind of influence in the Song that it became famous for in the Ming under Wang Yangming. With neither of the two schools of Neo-Confucianism exhibiting the kind of dominance they would later be noted for, the intellectual terrain is cleared for different and more diverse representation, as indicated above.

As instructive as Araki's depiction is of the different schools in the Song, and especially Ming intellectual arena, a key component is missing. If one tries to conflate the groups listed in table 6.1 with the schools in table 6.2, one can observe some general parallels. It is easy to imagine, for instance, how the two groups of *guwen* proponents (groups 1 and 2 in table 6.1) evolved into the Neo-Confucian School of Principle. Similarly, one can observe a direct connection between Linji Chan (group 6 in table 6.1) and the Chan School of Mind. The connection is less clear, however, between literati who sympathized with Chan (group 5 in table 6.1) and the Neo-Confucian School of Mind, but taking into account their position as mediators between the spontaneous freedom advocated in Chan and strict Confucian morality, some significant parallels may be said to apply. What is missing in Araki's assessment, from the perspective of the early Song intellectual terrain, is the inclusion of positions that correspond to the Confucian Monks and the Doctrinal Buddhists (groups 3 and 4 in table 6.1).

In Araki's defense, these groups have been relatively unacknowledged, and their activities were less relevant to the later Song and Ming contexts that Araki was most concerned with. Having said this, it is clear that Araki was concerned with relations between Confucians and Buddhists in the Song,[37] and was aware of a principled approach to Buddhism among those who valued traditional doctrine and teaching.[38] Araki acknowledges the importance of the principled approach for Tang Buddhism, especially in his discussion of Chengguan and Zongmi. The omission seems to result from an inadequate appreciation of principled approaches in the Song. This is odd, at first glance, since Araki does acknowledge Yanshou's influence on Song Buddhism, and as noted above, Yanshou was a main proponent of the principled approach.

One instructive way to understand Araki's perspective is by looking at his critique of a study of Zhu Xi's anti-Buddhist views by Yūki Reimon.[39] According to Yūki, the object of Zhu Xi's attack was not the scholarly, theoretical, or "principled" schools of Buddhism like Huayan, Tiantai, and Faxiang, but was largely aimed at the Chan schools that were the most flourishing at the time, and to some extent toward Pure Land (which he characterizes in terms of Lotus societies and *nianfo* practices). Yūki's analysis of Zhu Xi's anti-Buddhism relies on a distinction between "principled Buddhism" (*gakuri bukkyō* 学理仏教) and "practice Buddhism" (*jissen bukkyō* 実践仏教). Zhu Xi, according to Yūki, had only weak understanding of "principled Buddhism," and his attack was aimed against "practice Buddhism," especially Chan. While Araki concedes that there are few passages in Zhu Xi's writings where he attacks the schools of "principled Buddhism" directly, he challenges Yūki to consider the ideological connections between "principled Buddhism" and "practice Buddhism," suggesting that the philosophical underpinnings of Chan and other practice-based schools of Buddhism are shared in common with the Buddhist schools of principle, and render any distinction between "principled Buddhism" and "practice Buddhism" insignificant.[40]

It is true that Zhu Xi tended to conflate all of Buddhism together and criticize it as if Linji Chan were representative. In this sense, he failed to take into account the variety of perspectives Buddhism represented during the Song period. The issue is not the distinction between principled and practice Buddhism, as such, but the Buddhist practice that is based on principle (e.g., Yanshou) as opposed to that which is not (i.e., Linji Chan). The failure to make this distinction is advantageous for the likes of Zhu Xi, who is thus able to denounce all of Buddhism in one stroke, even principled Buddhism, which also objects to the approach suggested by Linji Chan rhetoric. It should also be noted that even Linji Chan Buddhists followed a principled regimen that suggested a strong commitment to practice. By taking Linji Chan rhetoric at face

value, Zhu Xi chastised Buddhism for its unprincipled approach to practice. In reality, the challenge Buddhism's principled approach represented to Zhu Xi was ultimately the more serious one, but was avoided by reducing all Buddhism to terms suggested by Linji Chan rhetoric. Like Zhu Xi, Araki fails to appreciate the ongoing legacy of principled approaches to Buddhism.

Another way to address the shortcomings of Araki's perspective is to consider his understanding of Yanshou. As seen above, Yanshou is a key figure for understanding the foundations of principled Buddhist approaches in the Song. To understand Araki's perspective on Yanshou, I begin with his review of an article by Ikeda (later Hattori) Eijun that discusses Yanshou's thought.[41] According to Ikeda, Yanshou's basic thought is "harmony between doctrinal Buddhism and Chan" (*kyōzen itchi* 教禅一致), drawn from the Huayan based approach of Chengguan and Zongmi. But while influenced by Zongmi, Yanshou, according to Ikeda, found aspects of Zongmi's approach lacking. Specifically, Yanshou (according to Ikeda) felt Zongmi's approach too tolerant of so-called patriarchal Chan (*zushi chan* or Jpn. *soshi zen* 祖師禅) and not admonishing enough against the wild rhetoric and biased views of Chan students. In effect, Ikeda is suggesting that Yanshou held to a more principled position than Zongmi, that Zongmi was too tolerant of Chan's excessive behavior. Araki disputes this claim, suggesting that Chengguan and Zongmi's perspective was consistent with Yanshou in adhering to a principled position based on the *Huayan jing* and *Yuanjue jing* (Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment).[42] The point here is not whether Araki's criticism of Ikeda is correct or not, but that Araki clearly recognizes the principled basis of Yanshou's thought, inherited from Tang Buddhism and continued by Yanshou in the Song. On the one hand, Ikeda's assessment of Yanshou provides validation of Yanshou as a proponent of "principled Buddhism." Araki, it is important to note, does not contest this assessment, only that Yanshou's "principled Buddhism" was more principled Zongmi's. The question, then, is why doesn't Araki acknowledge Yanshou's principled approach as a factor in the Song intellectual landscape?

Araki's failure to acknowledge a Buddhist School of Principle may be defensible given his propensity to chart intellectual developments in broad terms, covering the Song through Ming dynasties. However instructive Araki's typologies were for a previous era (we need to recall that Araki's suggestions about the inclusion of a Linji Chan perspective in Song and Ming intellectual thought were groundbreaking at the time), it is now time to move beyond Araki's broad perspective and look at the intellectual terrain not as it emerged over centuries, but as it appeared over decades. The former perspective succumbs, perhaps unwittingly, to teleological assumptions shaped in terms of the eventual "winners." The latter perspective restores the nuance of debate and positioning

within a complex ideological framework. It forces us to think beyond essentialist labels like Confucian, Buddhist, or Daoist, to appreciate the intersecting lines and shaded perspectives of the intellectual terrain.

Even though Araki avoided the tendency among Buddhist scholars of his day to undervalue post-Tang developments, he did fall victim to the tendency to reduce Buddhism to a single dimension. Scholarship on Song Buddhism exposes the complexity and vitality of Buddhism after the Tang. The vitality of Tiantai, for example, has been acknowledged, both in terms of a continuation of a Tiantai school, and in the sponsoring of a burgeoning Pure Land movement. Within Tiantai, there is the rivalry between Shanjia 山家 (Home Mountain) and Shanwai 山外 (Off Mountain), which exposes the importance of factional divisions.[43] Within Chan, too, there is recognition of the significance of streams other than Linji, both in the revival of the Caodong lineage and the continuation of a scholastic orientation that valued its Mahāyāna literary heritage.[44] It is important to acknowledge these findings in our assessment of the different positions represented in Song discourse. The Vinaya school (*Lu zong* 律宗), with its program of training aimed at inculcating proper execution of Buddhist rites and moral conduct, also maintained an institutional presence into the Song. All of these developments indicate a vitality of a "principled" Buddhism—Buddhism not in defiance of principles, as in Linji Chan, but as an application of principles executed through a stipulated moral regimen and ritual practices and performances. With these developments in mind, table 6.2 may be modified by adding a fourth position, a Buddhist School of Principle (see table 6.3).

The addition of the Buddhist School of Principle not only restores a balance within dialogues and debates within the world of Song Buddhism, it also changes, and complicates, the standard Neo-Confucian interpretation of Buddhism. This is an important issue that I hope to be able to return to in future. At present, I simply point to the lack of sophistication and nuance with which

TABLE 6.3 Four major schools of thought in the Song dynasty

School	Neo-Confucian School of Principle (*li xue* 理學)	Neo-Confucian School of Mind (*xin xue* 心學)	Buddhist School of Principle (*foli xue* 佛理學)	Linji Chan School of Mind (*linji xinzong* 臨濟心宗)
Main tenet	"Nature is principle." (*xing ji li* 性即理)	"Mind is principle." (*xin ji li* 心即理)	"Mind-nature is principle." (*xinxing ji li* 心性即理)	"Mind is nature." (*xin ji xing* 心即性)
Method	Investigation of things (*gewu* 格物)	Extension of innate knowledge of the good (*zhi liangzhi* 致良知)	Myriad good deeds (all practices lead to nirvāṇa) (*wanshan tonggui* 萬善同歸)	Sudden awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟)

Neo-Confucians, particularly the School of Principle, treat Buddhism, by which they generally mean Linji Chan. As mentioned above, the failure to distinguish between a Buddhist School of Principle and the Linji School of Mind is not accidental, but intentional. By reducing all of Buddhism to its unprincipled form, that is, Linji Chan, the Zhu Xi School of Principle is able to categorically denounce all Buddhism in one broad, all-encompassing stroke. While acknowledging that a Buddhist School of Principle may not rescue Buddhism from a Confucian perspective for its failure to initiate a social agenda based on Confucian moral criteria, it does alter and complicate the nature of the debate. For scholars who do not subscribe to Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian agenda, it is incumbent to rethink the implications that the Buddhist School of Principle has on the dynamics of post-Tang intellectual history, and how it accounts for and helps explain previously unacknowledged and unexplored dimensions.

Conclusion

The current discussion suggests the need to reevaluate the role of Buddhism in the Song and Ming periods, particularly as it relates to the broader context of literati culture and Confucian learning. It is simplistic to reduce all of Buddhism in these periods to Linji faction teachings, regardless of how influential these may have been. Basically, my suggestion is that the Buddhist literary world was not as consistent as Neo-Confucian orthodoxy has led us to believe, but incorporated divisions that paralleled Confucian ones. Buddhist and Confucian literati occupied shared intellectual space with overlapping and intersecting themes, concepts, and interests. From the Confucian perspective, Wang Yangming's School of Mind has long alerted us to the overlap between Confucian and Chan Buddhist teachings and methods. The Buddhist School of Principle reminds us, similarly, of potential avenues of overlap with the Zhu Xi School of Principle.

Inserting a Buddhist School of Principle changes the intellectual terrain and forces us to ask several necessary questions. While Zhu Xi was fond of criticizing all of Buddhism in terms of Linji faction principles, how valid are his criticisms when one takes the Buddhist School of Principle into account? How does the Buddhist School of Principle compare with Zhu Xi's own Neo-Confucian School of Principle? In what ways do their teachings overlap? In what ways do they differ? Similarly, how does the dynamic shift between the Wang Yangming School of Mind and the Neo-Confucian School of Principle change when a Buddhist School of Principle is assumed? In other words, how is the intellectual milieu altered when the interplay of four rather than three

schools is assumed? Also in need of further investigation is the relative strength of these four positions at different periods. As in the Neo-Confucian experience that saw a regular ebb and flow of ascendance and decline of the School of Principle vis-a-vis the School of Mind, the same is true in Buddhism. While my study addresses the intellectual terrain occupied by Buddhism vis-a-vis Confucianism, there is also need to consider how Daoistic-inclined discourse complements and alters the landscape. Assessing the relative strength of each position will help determine the nature and character of the debate in the period in question, and will help us develop a more nuanced view of Confucian and Buddhist syncretism in the Song and Ming dynasties.

Among other things, inserting a Buddhist School of Principle into the ideological mix helps to explain the ongoing appeal of Buddhism to literati in spite of the stridency with which it was vilified by certain segments of the Confucian elite.[45] I believe that future studies, attuned to the potential influence that principled Buddhism had, will reveal an ideological debt that has hitherto passed unnoticed.

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Translation of the *Zongjing lu*, Fascicle 1

宗鑑錄

Zongjing lu

Records of the Source-Mirror

[The Implicit Truth of Buddhism and Its Reflection in Phenomena][1]

[415a3]

宗鑑錄序

Preface

左朝請郎尚書禮部

員外郎護軍楊傑撰

Written by Yang Jie

Senior Gentleman for Court Audiences, Minister, Vice Director of the Ministry of Personnel, and Military Protector[2]

[415a7] 諸佛真語。以心為宗。眾生信道。以宗為鑑。眾生界即諸佛界。因迷而為眾生。諸佛心是眾生心。因悟而成諸佛。

When the Buddhas proclaim the truth, they consider mind as *zong* [i.e., the implicit truth]. When sentient beings express their faith

they consider *zong* as a mirror. The world of sentient beings is the world of the Buddhas [i.e., there is no difference between them]. It is because of their delusion that they become sentient beings. The mind of the Buddhas is the mind of sentient beings. It is because of their realization that they become Buddhas.

> [415a9] 心如明鑑。萬象歷然。佛與眾生。其猶影像。涅槃生死。俱是強名。鑒體寂而常照。鑒光照而常寂。心佛眾生。三無差別。

Mind is like a luminous mirror. All phenomena are manifested clearly and distinctly [in it]. Buddhas and sentient beings are manifestations just like these. Nirvāṇa and samsāra are the definitive designations [differentiating them]. When the mirror stand is still, [images] are constantly illuminated. When the mirror brightly illuminates, [images] are constantly still. There is no difference between the three—mind, Buddha, and sentient being.

> [415a12] 國初吳越永明智覺壽禪師。證最上乘。了第一義。洞究教典。深達禪宗。稟奉律儀。廣行利益。因讀楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。乃製宗鑑錄。於無疑中起疑。非問處設問。不請友。真大導師。擲龍宮之寶。均施群生。徹祖門之關。普容來者。舉目而視。有欲皆充。信手而拈。有疾皆愈。蕩滌邪見。指歸妙源。所謂舉一心為宗。照萬法為鑑矣。

At the beginning of the [Song] regime, Chan Master [Yan]shou, "Wisdom-Enlightenment,"[3] of Yongming [Monastery] in Wuyue, ascended the highest vehicle and understood the foremost doctrine. He investigated exhaustively the teachings and scriptures, and deeply penetrated the implicit truth of Chan [*chanzong*]. He humbly performed the vinaya rituals, and extensively carried out activities that bring blessings. Because he read in the *Lankavatāra sūtra*, "the mind the Buddhas spoke of is the implicit truth" [*zong*], he compiled the *Records of the Source-Mirror* [*Zongjing lu*]. He raised doubts where none seemed to exist, and posed questions when they had seemingly been exhausted. He is a friend whom one can call on for anything, a truly great teacher. He tossed us treasures from the Dragon Palace, providing all of them for living beings. He penetrated the barrier of the patriarch's gate, entering it freely whenever he wished. [In the moment it takes] to raise one's eyes to look at something, whatever one desires is fulfilled. [In the moment it takes] to extend one's hand to pick something up, whatever illness one has will be cured. He washed away heterodox views, and indicated how to return to the fountain of wonder. That is why he advocated universal mind as the implicit truth [*zong*], and the myriad phenomena it illuminates as a mirror.

[415a19] 若人以佛為鑑。則知戒定慧為諸善之宗。人天聲聞緣覺菩薩如來。由此而出。一切善類莫不信受。若以眾生為鑑。則知貪瞋癡為諸惡之宗。脩羅旁生地獄鬼趣。由此而出。一切惡類莫不畏憚。善惡雖異。其宗則同。返鑑其心。則知靈明湛寂。廣大融通。無為無住。無修無證。無塵可染。無垢可磨。為一切諸法之宗矣。

If people regard the Buddha as a mirror [i.e., take the Buddha as their model], they will know that the moral precepts, meditation, and wisdom are the implicit source [*zong*] of all goodness. Humans, gods, śrāvakas, pratyeka-Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and tathāgatas are all products of this [goodness]. All goodness, regardless of the type, is generated by faith. If they regard sentient beings as their mirror [i.e., take sentient beings as their model], they will know that greed, anger, and ignorance are the source of all evils. By cultivating a web of biases, they will be born as demons in hell. They are products of this [evil]. All evil, regardless of type, is fearful. Even though good and evil are different, their source is the same. If they revert to mirroring their minds [i.e., practicing meditation], they will know that peaceful tranquility generated by spiritual illumination expands freely and harmoniously. There will be nothing to do, no place to dwell, nothing to cultivate, and nothing to achieve. There will be no dust that can stain one, no filth one must remove. It is because [mind] is the source of all the various phenomena.

[415a26] 初吳越忠懿王。序之。祕于教藏。至元豐中。皇弟魏端獻王。鏤板分施名藍。四方學者。罕遇其本。元祐六年夏。游東都法雲道場。始見錢唐新本。尤為精詳。乃吳人徐思恭。請法涌禪師。同永樂法真二三耆宿。遍取諸錄。用三乘典籍。聖賢教語。校讀成就。以廣流布。其益甚博。法涌知予喜閱是錄。因請為序云。

Initially, Prince Zhongyi of Wuyue wrote a preface for the *Zongjing lu,*[4] and hid it away in the canon of [Buddhist] teachings. During the *yuanfeng* era [1078–85], a younger brother of the emperor, Wei Duan, presented it to the ruler. It was engraved in wood and distributed to famous monasteries, but students from around the country rarely encountered copies of it. In the summer of the sixth year of the *yuanyou* era [1091], I, Yang Jie, traveled to Fayun [Dharma-Cloud] Monastery in the eastern capital [Kaifeng], where I first saw a copy of the newly issued Qiantang edition [of the text]. Even more, it was a complete and accurate version. At the invitation of a man from Wu, Xu Sigong, Chan master Fayong along with some elder monks, including Yongle and Fazhen,[5] obtained various versions of the [*Zongjing*] *lu* from throughout China. [They checked the contents] using the canonical sources of the three vehicles and the teachings and sayings of the sages and worthies. When the proofreading was successfully

completed, they disseminated it widely, and it has become much more readily available. Fayong knew from before how I enjoyed reading the [*Zongjing*] *lu*. Because of this he asked me to write a preface for it.

宗鏡錄序

Preface

天下大元帥吳越國王俶製

Written by Prince [Qian] Chu of the Principality of Wuyue

[415b10] 詳夫。域中之教者三。正君臣。親父子。厚人倫。儒。吾之師也。

There are three teachings within the boundaries of our territory.[6] To rectify [behavior between] rulers and ministers, for affection between fathers and sons, and for cordial human relations, [there is the teaching of] Confucianism. It is my teacher.

[415b11] 寂兮寥兮。視聽無得。自微妙。升虛無。以止乎乘風馭景。君得之則善建不拔。
人得之則延貺無窮。道。儒之師也。

In moments of quiet and solitude, look and listen for the unobtainable. From the infinitesimally subtle, one soars to vacuous nonexistence. How one rides the wind, directing the world as if it were a play. If the ruler obtains this [kind of understanding], what is well established will not end in ruin. If the people obtain it, they will be granted gifts beyond measure. [This is the teaching of] Daoism. It is the teacher of Confucianism.

[415b13] 四諦十二因緣。三明八解脫。時習不忘。日修以得。一登果地。永達真常。釋道之宗也。

The four noble truths, twelve-linked chain of causation, the three miraculous powers, and the eight liberations—practice these regularly without neglect. Cultivate daily in order to obtain them. As soon as you realize nirvāṇa, you will forever understand what is true and eternal. [This is the teaching of] Buddhism. It is the source [*zong*] of Daoism.

[415b15] 惟此三教。並自心修。心鏡錄者。智覺禪師所撰也。總乎百卷。包盡微言。

These three teachings are all simply the cultivation of one's own mind. The *Records of the Source-Mirror* [*Zongjing lu*] was compiled by Chan master "Wisdom-Enlightenment" [Yongming Yanshou]. It consists of one hundred fascicles in total, containing all the profound words [of Buddhist teaching].

[415b18] 我佛金口所宣。盈于海藏。蓋亦提誘後學。師之智慧辯才。演暢萬法。明了一心。禪際河遊。慧間雲布。數而稱之。莫能盡紀。聊為小序。以頌宣行云爾。

What our Buddha proclaimed with his golden mouth fills a canon [as vast as] the ocean. How useful it is for guiding later students! The Master [Yanshou], with his wisdom and talent, effortlessly elaborated the myriad phenomena. He clearly understood universal mind. When he is in meditation, [his mind] flows like a river. When displaying wisdom, it unfolds like clouds. I have commended him frequently [for this], but have not had sufficient opportunity to put it in writing. This is simply a brief preface for declaring openly my praise for him. So I have stated.[7]

宗鏡錄序

Preface

大宋吳越國慧日永明
寺主智覺禪師延壽集

Collected by Yanshou, Chan Master "Wisdom-Enlightenment," Chief Priest of Huiri Yongming [Monastery] in the Great Song Principality of Wuyue[8]

[415b28] 伏以。真源湛寂。覺海澄清。絕名相之端。無能所之跡。最初不覺。忽起動心。成業識之由。為覺明之咎。因明起照。見分俄興。隨照立塵。相分安布。如鏡現像。頓起根身。次則隨想。而世界成差。後即因智。而憎愛不等。

I humbly submit that the fountain of truth, profound and tranquil, and the sea of enlightenment, clear and pure, eliminate the causes of "name and form" and nullify the effects of subject and object [i.e., dualism].[9] At the very first moment we lack awareness [i.e., are unenlightened], we inevitably give rise to an agitated [i.e., deluded] mind. It [i.e., the agitated mind] constitutes the basis for karmic-consciousness and forms stains on our enlightened

brilliance [i.e., true nature]. Because [our enlightened] brilliance gives rise to [the power of] illumination, we observe [a world of] particulars suddenly arising.[10] Through [the power of] illumination [the world of] illusory objects is affirmed; forms are distributed in peaceful array, like images appearing in a mirror. Suddenly, physical bodies with sense-organs materialize. Next, through our mental conceptions, we create distinctions regarding the external world. Finally, even though [our nature is] founded on wisdom, differences occur in our emotional state.

> [415c3] 從此遺真失性。執相徇名。積滯著之情塵。結相續之識浪。鎖真覺於夢夜。沈迷三界之中。瞽智眼於昏衢。匍匐九居之內。遂乃糜業繫之苦。喪解脫之門。於無身中受身。向無趣中立趣。約依處則分二十五有。論正報則具十二類生。皆從情想根由。遂致依正差別。

As a result of this, we abandon the truth and deny our [enlightened] nature. We grasp forms [as if they were real] and depend on names [as if they were meaningful]. We accumulate attachments to the sense-organs and illusory objects, and identify with the ongoing waves of our consciousness. Having confined true enlightenment to a nocturnal dream, we are deeply infatuated with life in the triple realm [of desire, form, and formlessness].[11] Having rendered the "wisdom-eye" blind on a dark path, we crawl on hands and knees for a place among the nine destinies human beings aspire to.[12] Inevitably doomed to suffer the fate of our karmic destiny, we cry out for some way of release. We accept [the notion of] a "self," when [in truth] there is no such thing. We create an [ultimate] destination, when [in reality] there is no such thing. When summarizing the circumstances living beings inhabit, they are divided into twenty-five abodes.[13] When discussing the direct recompense one receives from one's previous karma, it is covered by the twelve types of living beings.[14] In all cases, it is as a result of emotions, mental conceptions, and sense-faculties that differences in "dependent" and "direct" karmic rewards are encountered.[15]

> [415c9] 向不遷境上。虛受輪迴。於無脫法中。自生繫縛。如春蠶作繭。似秋蛾赴燈。以二見妄想之絲。纏苦聚之業質。用無明貪愛之翼。撲生死之火輪。用谷響言音。論四生妍醜。以妄想心鏡。現三有形儀。然後。違順想風。動搖覺海。貪癡愛水。資潤苦芽。一向徇塵。罔知反本。發狂亂之知見。翳於自心。立幻化之色聲。認為他法。從此。一微涉境。漸成戛漢之高峰。滴水興波。終起吞舟之巨浪。邇後將欲反初復本。

With no inclination to change the external circumstances we encounter, we are hopelessly subjected to the process of transmigration. Trapped in phenomenal

existence, we produce our own web of constraints. We are like caterpillars in spring making cocoons, like moths in autumn alighting on burning lamps. By falsely conceptualizing the intricate pattern of existence in terms of either of the two extreme views [as real or unreal], we prolong our karmic disposition toward suffering in various ways. We use the wings of ignorance, desire, and passion to fan the fiery wheel of birth and death. We use the sounds of words, [like] echoes through a canyon, to debate the beauty or ugliness of beings born according to the four types [as if such distinctions were important].[16] On the basis of false conceptions, the mind-mirror [*xinjing*] manifests the regulated patterns of the triple realm. In the end, whether we resist or succumb to influences deriving from these conceptions, we cause turmoil in the sea of enlightenment. The waters of desire, stupidity, and passion provide nourishment for the budding [seeds of] suffering. Completely overwhelmed by illusory objects, we do not know how to return to the root [i.e., our original enlightened nature].[17] We conceive perverse, chaotic views that obscure [the truth] inherent in our own minds. We create phantom, illusory appearances and sounds, perceiving them as phenomena other than ourselves. As a result of this, each minute particle encountered in the external world gradually forms a high peak piercing the Milky Way [i.e., the greatest of obstacles]. Drops of water form waves, ultimately developing into tidal waves that engulf the boat [supporting us]. After such [tragic experiences], we form the desire to go back to the beginning and restore the root.

[415c18] 約根利鈍不同。於一真如界中。開三乘五性。或見空而證果。或了緣而入真。或三祇熏鍊。漸具行門。或一念圓修。頓成佛道。斯則剋證有異。

Generally speaking, people's mental capacities [range between] sharp and dull, and are not the same. Situated in the realm where everything exists in the state of true suchness, [the Buddha] revealed three vehicles for five types of endowments.[18] Some realized enlightenment through seeing the emptiness [of phenomenal existence]. Some accessed the truth by understanding the conditioned nature of existence. Some gradually assimilated the methods of practice through an infusion of training methods over a period of three aeons. Some attained Buddhahood suddenly, through the perfect cultivation of a single thought. In this manner, there were different ways to achieve victorious realization [i.e., enlightenment].

[415c21] 一性非殊。因成凡聖之名。似分真俗之相。若欲窮微洞本。究旨通宗。則根本性離。畢竟寂滅。絕昇沈之異。無縛脫之殊。既無在世之人。亦無滅度之者。二際平等。一道清虛。識智俱空。名體咸寂。無所有。

The [originally endowed] pure nature was not destroyed.[19] According to causal conditions that form us,[20] we assume a reputation as either an ordinary person or a sage. According to appearances that distinguish us, we assume the guise of either a monk or a householder. If you desire to investigate exhaustively and penetrate the root, and are ultimately led to the all-pervasive implicit truth, the original nature you have been endowed with will show itself distinctly, and you will ultimately experience tranquil extinction. By eliminating the different [ways of] rising and falling in the process of transmigration, and nullifying the distinction between bondage and liberation [i.e., samsāra and nirvāṇa], you will become someone who is no longer bound by this world and achieve indestructible realization. The two realms [samsāra and nirvāṇa] will be the same. The one true path of Buddhist practice will be pure and void; consciousness and wisdom will both be empty. Names, by their essential nature, will all be tranquil, corresponding [as they do] to that which is devoid of [substantial] existence.

> [415c26] 唯一真心。達之名見道之人。昧之號生死之始。復有邪根外種。小智權機。不了生死之病原。罔知人我之見本。唯欲厭喧斥動。破相析塵。雖云味靜冥空。不知埋真拒覺。如不辯眼中之赤眚。但滅燈上之重光。罔窮識內之幻身。空避日中之虛影。斯則勞形役思。喪力捐功。不異足水助冰。投薪益火。豈知重光在眚。虛影隨身。除病眼而重光自消。息幻質而虛影當滅。

There is only universal, true mind. People who understand it call it [the way for] seeing the truth. Beginners who are confused about it refer to it as [the realm of] birth and death. They, moreover, maintain roots of depravity and seeds of heterodoxy, and have limited wisdom and varying capacities. They do not understand the cause for the illness of birth and death, and do not know the basis for the view of a permanent self. They only want to vehemently reject and actively criticize, destroy [phenomenal] forms, and cut off sense objects. Even though they speak of "tasting silence" and "profound emptiness,"[21] they do not know that [their words] bury the truth and oppose awakening. It is as if they fail to recognize a red film [causing them to see flames] existing within their own eyes, and simply extinguish the light produced from the lamp [i.e., they destroy the object, but not the cause]. Unaware that illusory physical bodies [arise from] within consciousness, they vainly shun the imaginary images cast by the sun. In this way, they wear out their bodies and enslave their minds. They exhaust their energy and reject [the possibility of gaining] merit. It is no different from increasing the amount of ice by adding water, or increasing the flames by throwing firewood on the fire. How can they ever understand that the reflected light [from the lamp] is the film [that exists in

their own eyes], or that the imaginary images [cast by the sun] depend on the physical bodies [arising from their own consciousness]? Eliminate the ailment in the eye, and the reflected light [from the lamp] will vanish of itself. Put an end to illusory substances [of consciousness] and imaginary images will naturally disappear.

> [416a5] 若能迴光就已。反境觀心。佛眼明而業影空。法身現而塵跡絕。以自覺之智刃。剖開纏內之心珠。用一念之慧鋒。斬斷塵中之見網。

If you are able to reflect the light back on its source, they [i.e., the diseased eye and illusory substances] will cease. Reflect on the objects of the external realm and contemplate [them] with the mind. When the Buddha-eye illuminates them, karmically produced images are empty. When the Dharma-body is revealed, the traces of illusory objects disappear. Use the sword of wisdom emanating from self-awakening to rip open the mind-pearl that has been tightly concealed within. Use the spear of insight emanating from a single-thought to sever the web of views formed in connection with the illusory objects of the external realm.

> [416a8] 此窮心之旨。達識之詮。言約義豐。文質理詣。揭疑關於正智之戶。薙妄草於真覺之原。愈入髓之沈痾。截盤根之固執。則物我遇智火之焰。融唯心之爐。名相臨慧日之光。釋一真之海。

In this [*Record*], I inquire exhaustively into the meaning of mind and investigate the explanations for consciousness. Generally speaking, there are an abundance of interpretations revealing a depth of style, substance, and reasoning. These [interpretations] lift away the barrier of uncertainty to the door of correct wisdom, and chop off the weeds of falsehood in the field of true enlightenment. To initiate a cure for a chronic disease of the marrow, eliminate the delight taken in clinging to the organs of sense. Then, external objects and the "self" will meet the flames of the wisdom-fire, and will be fused together in the cauldron of mind-only.[22] [The objectified realm of] name and form will face the rays of the wisdom-sun, and will be released into the sea of universal truth.

> [416a12] 斯乃內證之法。豈在文詮。知解莫窮。見聞不及。今為未見者。演無見之妙見。未聞者。入不聞之圓聞。未知者。說無知之真知。未解者。成無解之大解。所冀因指見月。得兔忘_。抱一冥宗。捨詮檢理。了萬物由我。明妙覺在身。

Since this is, in point of fact, a teaching for inner realization, how can it be explained through textual explanations? The knowledge it unleashes has no

limit. What we see and hear [through the senses] does not reach it. Now, for the sake of those who have not yet seen this, I explain the "wondrous seeing of no-seeing"; for those who have not yet heard it, I introduce the "perfect hearing of no-hearing"; for those who do not yet know it, I talk about the "true knowing of nonknowing"; for those who are not yet liberated, I confirm the "great liberation of nonliberation."[23] What I hope is that through the finger you will see the moon, after catching the hare you will forget the snare, embrace the universal and unite with the implicit truth [*zong*], discard the explanations and seek the principle [inherent in them], understand that the myriad things depend on the "self" [for their existence], and realize that wondrous enlightenment exists in one's physical body.

> [416a17] 可謂搜抉玄根。磨礱理窟。剔禪宗之骨髓。標教綱之紀綱。餘惑微瑕。應手圓淨。玄宗妙旨。舉意全彰。能摧七慢之山。永塞六衰之路。塵勞外道。盡赴指呼。生死魔軍。全消影響。現自在力。闡大威光。示真寶珠。利用無盡。傾祕密藏。周濟何窮。

It can be described as searching out the deep root [of one's existence], as excavating the cave of principle, as "picking out the marrow from the bones" in the Chan lineages,[24] and as revealing the regulations and guidelines in the network of doctrinal teachings. To eliminate confusion and erase the stains [of one's karma], perfect purity is ready at hand. The wondrous doctrines of the profound implicit truth [of Buddhism] advance the notion [of the "seeing of no-seeing," "hearing of no hearing," "knowing of nonknowing," and "liberation of nonliberation"] and make them perfectly clear. [With them], you can wear down the mountain [built by] the seven kinds of arrogance,[25] and bury forever the path [based on] the six kinds of weaknesses.[26] Non-Buddhist teachings on striving after the pleasures of this world consistently miss the point! When the effects that Mara's army has over birth and death are completely eliminated, you will manifest the power of spontaneous freedom and emit rays of great majesty. You will reveal the true pearl [i.e., one's true self-nature] whose benefits and uses are inexhaustible. Relying completely on this secret repository, you will rescue all, however destitute.

> [416a22] 可謂。香中爇其牛頭。寶中探其驪頷。華中採其靈瑞。照中耀其神光。食中啜其乳糜。水中飲其甘露。藥中服其九轉。主中遇其聖王。

It [i.e., this teaching on *zong*] can be described [as follows]: among fragrant aromas, it is analogous to the burning head of an ox;[27] among precious objects, to [a pearl] plucked from under a black dragon's jaws;[28] among extraordinary things, to selecting auspicious omens; among beams of light, to emitting

divine rays; among foods, to eating rice gruel; among liquids, to drinking sweet dew; among medicines, to taking cinnabar;[29] among masters, to meeting a sage-king.

> [416a25] 故得法性山高。頓落群峰之峻。醍醐海闊。横呑眾派之波。似夕魄之騰輝。奪小乘之星宿。如朝陽之孕彩。破外道之昏蒙。猶貧法財之人。值大寶聚。若渴甘露之者。遇清涼池。為眾生所敬之天。作菩薩真慈之父。抱膏肓之疾。逢善見之藥王。迷險難之途。偶明達之良導。久居闇室。忽臨寶炬之光明。常處裸形。頓受天衣之妙服。不求而自得。無功而頓成。故知。無量國中。難聞名字。塵沙劫內。罕遇傳持。以如上之因緣。

Therefore, although we have reached the summit of the dharma-nature,[30] we suddenly fall from the precipitous crags of mountain peaks [into the sea below]. The rich liquor skimmed from boiled butter [i.e., the Buddhist teaching of compassion] spreads over the vast sea. We frantically drink from the waves of various branches of teachings. They resemble the flickering lights of spirits of the dead in the evening.[31] We grab onto a constellation of stars—the lesser vehicle. It appears as the morning sun pregnant with variegated colors. We destroy the dark shroud of heterodox teachings. We are like people who, after having lost their wealth, find an abundance of great treasures. If we drink the sweet dew [of Buddhist teaching], we will arrive at the pure, refreshing pond [i.e., nirvāṇa].[32] For the sake of sentient beings who revere gods, there exist bodhisattvas, fathers of true compassion. Having contracted a life-threatening disease, we meet the Medicine King who is skilful at diagnosing [the nature of illnesses]. Having gone astray on a dangerous and difficult path, we meet[33] skilful guides who show us how to proceed. Having long dwelled in a house of darkness, we suddenly face the bright light of a precious torch. Having long been naked, we suddenly receive the exquisite finery with which gods are arrayed. We do not seek anything, but are granted whatever we wish. We expend no effort, but everything is accomplished instantaneously. Therefore, know that among the innumerable countries of the world, it is difficult to hear the words [of Buddhist teaching]. Within aeons as numerous as grains of sand, it is rare to encounter what has been preserved through transmission. It amounts to an excellent opportunity.

> [416b6] 目為心鏡。現一道而清虛可鑒。辟群邪而毫髮不容。妙體無私。圓光匪外。無邊義海。咸歸顧眄之中。萬像形容。盡入照臨之內。斯乃曹谿一味之旨。諸祖同傳。鵠林不二之宗。群經共述。

The eyes are the mirror of mind.[34] When [the mind-mirror] reveals universal truth, [all things] will appear in it as pristine and void [of self-nature]. It avoids

all kinds of perversities without excluding even the slightest of things. In their wondrous essence [phenomena] are devoid of self-[nature], and the light of perfection [*yuanguang*] is not alien to them. In the expanse of the infinite, everything reverts to the status of a fleeting appearance. The appearances adopted by the myriad objects all enter the state of luminosity itself. This is none other than the doctrine of "a single flavor" taught [by the sixth patriarch] at Caoqi that the various patriarchs have all transmitted;[35] it is the implicit truth [*zong*] of nonduality taught [by Śākyamuni] at the Crane's Grove that various scriptures all explain.[36]

> [416b10] 可謂萬善之淵府。眾哲之玄源。一字之寶王。群靈之元祖。遂使離心之境。文理俱虛。即識之塵。詮量有據。一心之海印。揩定圓宗。八識之智燈。照開邪闇。

[The mind-mirror] can be referred to as the deep abode of myriad good deeds [*wanshan*], the profound origin of all wisdom, the precious ruler of all existence, or the primordial ancestor of the multitude of spiritual beings.[37] In time, people conceive of a realm of objects separate from the mind. Literary compositions and rational principles are both void; they are illusory objects created by consciousness. The volumes of explanations are proof of this. The vast sea of all encompassing existence that universal mind manifests is correctly accounted for in the Perfect Teaching.[38] [Throughout] the eight consciousnesses, the lamp of wisdom lights up darkness to reveal perversity.[39]

> [416b13] 實謂。含生靈府。萬法義宗。轉變無方。卷舒自在。應緣現跡。任物成名。諸佛體之號三菩提。菩薩修之稱六度行。海慧變之為水。龍女獻之為珠。天女散之為無著華。善友求之為如意寶。緣覺悟之為十二緣起。聲聞證之為四諦人空。外道取之為邪見河。異生執之作生死海。論體則妙符至理。約事則深契正緣。

[The mind-mirror] in fact refers to the spiritual abode of living beings and the implicit truth of the myriad dharmas [i.e., phenomena]. It is constantly changing in unpredictable ways, expanding and contracting with unimpeded spontaneity. It manifests traces as conditions warrant; names are formed according to the things [manifested]. When Buddhas realize the mind-essence, it is called complete enlightenment. When bodhisattvas cultivate it, it is known as the practice of the six perfections.[40] Transformed by "ocean-wisdom" it becomes water. Offered by dragon maidens, it becomes a pearl.[41] Scattered by heavenly maidens, it becomes petals that do not stick to one.[42] Sought after by good friends, it becomes a treasure that is granted as one pleases. Awakened to by pratyeka-Buddhas, it becomes the twelve-links of causal arising.[43] Attained by śrāvaka-Buddhas, it becomes the four noble truths and the emptiness of

self-nature.[44] Apprehended on non-Buddhist paths, it becomes a river of erroneous views. Grasped by common people, it becomes the sea of birth and death. Discussed in terms of its essence, it is in subtle harmony with principle. Considered in terms of phenomena, it is in tacit agreement with the conditioned nature of existence as properly understood [i.e., according to Buddhist teaching].[45]

> [416b20] 然雖標法界之總門。須辯一乘之別旨。種種性相之義。在大覺以圓通。重重即入之門。唯種智而妙達。但以根羸靡鑒。學寡難周。不知性相二門。是自心之體用。若具用而失恒常之體。如無水有波。若得體而闕妙用之門。似無波有水。且未有無波之水。曾無不濕之波。以波徹水源。水窮波末。如性窮相表。相達性原。須知體用相成。性相互顯。

Thus, even though I have revealed the main entrances to the dharma-realm, I must explain all the various meanings of nature and appearance contained in the special teaching of the one-vehicle.[46] With the perfect understanding inherent in great awakening, everything is interconnected and is a gateway for entering [the dharma-realm].[47] Only with the full wisdom [of a Buddha] does one miraculously penetrate [the meaning of this special teaching]. It is simply that those with weak capacities do not reflect on it; with lack of study they have difficulty understanding it thoroughly. They do not realize the two gates of nature and appearance are the essence and function of their own minds. If they utilize [the mind's] functioning [ability] but ignore its ever-present essence, it is like a wave without water. If they realize the [mind]-essence while denying it as the gateway of miraculous functioning, it is like water without waves. There is never water without waves, nor waves without water. As waves originate entirely from water and water crests entirely as waves, so does nature reveal itself entirely in appearances and appearances originate entirely in nature.[48] They must realize that essence and function complete each other, and nature and appearance reveal each other.

> [416b28] 今則細明總別。廣辯異同。研一法之根元。搜諸緣之本末。則可稱宗鏡。以鑒幽微。

I will now clarify in detail the general and distinctive [characteristics of essence and function], and discuss at length the differences and similarities [between them]. By studying the root-origin of each dharma and investigating the roots and branches of conditioned phenomena, one can explain the source-mirror [*zongjing*] through the minute subtleties revealed in it.

> [416c1] 無一法以逃形。則千差而普會。遂則編羅廣義。撮略要文。鋪舒於百卷之中。卷攝在一心之內。能使難思教海。指掌而念念圓

明。無盡真宗。目而心心契合。若神珠在手。永息馳求。猶覺樹垂陰。全消影跡。獲真寶於春池之內。拾礫渾非。得本頭於古鏡之前。狂心頓歇。

Since there is not a single dharma that escapes form, the thousand variations [forms assume] are encountered everywhere. If one pursues them fully, they are interwoven with extensive implications [regarding their essence and function, nature and appearance]. I have selected and summarized the essential writings [on the matter], and set them forth [here] in one hundred fascicles. The fascicles consist of content pertaining to universal mind—they are able to make difficult ideas among the vast sea of teachings easy to understand and perfectly clear to one's passing thoughts; they make the unlimited complexities of the true source [of all phenomena] readily observable and in tacit harmony with one's thought processes. To compare, when the spiritual jewel is in one's hand, one is forever precluded from rushing around in search of it. Or when the tree of enlightenment provides shade, it completely eliminates shadows and traces. After one finds the true treasure in the spring pond, picking through pebbles [in search of it] becomes completely unnecessary.[49] When one finds one's original face in the ancient mirror, deranged notions suddenly disappear.[50]

[416c7] 可以深挑見刺。永截疑根。不運一毫之功。全開寶藏。匪用刹那之力。頓獲玄珠。名為一乘大寂滅場。真阿蘭若正修行處。此是如來自到境界。諸佛本住法門。是以普勸後賢。細垂玄覽。遂得智窮性海。學洞真源。

One can, on the basis of this, extricate what is deeply embedded, expose and attack it, forever eliminating the roots of uncertainty. Without even the slightest effort, one completely opens the treasure storehouse.[51] Without expending the slightest bit of energy, one suddenly obtains the mystical jewel. It is referred to as the place of great tranquil extinction [i.e., nirvāṇa] in the one-vehicle, and the correct place for cultivation and practice in the true *āranya*.[52] It is the objective realm that the Tathāgata himself appears in, the dharma-gate where the Buddhas originally reside. Consequently, after exerting oneself everywhere, one is a "worthy."[53] One experiences the mystery inherent in every detail, and subsequently gains the wisdom to fathom the vast sea of nature. Through study, one penetrates the true origin.

[416c11] 此識此心。唯尊唯勝。此識者。十方諸佛之所證。此心者。一代時教之所詮。唯尊者。教理行果之所歸。唯勝者。信解證入之所趣。諸賢依之。而解釋。論起千章。衆聖體之。以弘宣。談成四辯。

This consciousness, this mind—how admirable, how excellent![54] "This consciousness" refers to the [inward] realization attained by all the Buddhas of the ten directions. "This mind" refers to the [outward] explanations rooted in the temporal circumstances of each age. "How admirable" refers to the propensity for Buddhist teachings and doctrines to propel one toward enlightenment. "How excellent" refers to the predilection for trust in Buddhist liberation to induce realization. Various worthies have explained and interpreted Buddhism in accordance with this statement; the treatises produced number a thousand. Numerous sages have embodied this statement, spreading it widely; their conversations constitute the four types of eloquence.[55]

> [416c16] 所以掇奇提異。研精洞微。獨舉宏綱。大張正網。撈摝五乘機地。昇騰第一義天。廣證此宗。利益無盡。遂得正法久住。摧外道之邪林。能令廣濟含生。塞小乘之亂轍。則無邪不正。有偽皆空。由自利故。發智德之原。由利他故。立恩德之事。成智德故。則慈起無緣之化。成恩德故。則悲含同體之心。以同體故。則心起無心。以無緣故。則化成大化。心起無心故。則何樂而不與。化成大化故。則何苦而不收。何樂而不與。則利鈍齊觀。何苦而不收。則怨親普救。

As a result, I have chosen what is unique and promoted what is exquisite [among these treatises and conversations], investigating their seminal aspects and penetrating their subtleties. I merely offer it as a thick rope for spreading widely the net of correct teaching. I have picked out passages among the teachings of the five vehicles able to generate spiritual responses, and offer them to Heaven as the foremost teaching of Buddhism.[56] I provide extensive evidence that the benefits of this implicit truth [*zong*] are limitless. I have striven to make the true Dharma last forever, to destroy the forest of perverse views contained in non-Buddhist teachings. I have been able to provide wide access to salvation for beings possessing consciousness, and blocked the ruts leading to confusion in the lesser vehicle. As a result, I have left no perverse views unrectified. The false [phenomena] of existence are all empty. For the purpose of benefiting oneself, one initiates wisdom and virtue. For the purpose of benefiting others, one establishes activities for bestowing blessings on others. For the purpose of achieving wisdom and virtue, one compassionately initiates activities aimed at saving all beings without restriction.[57] For the purpose of establishing activities to bestow benefits on others, one possesses a mind of compassion toward all beings that are similarly constituted. For the purpose of [possessing a mind of compassion toward all beings] similarly constituted, the one initiates a spontaneously freed mind [*wuxin*]. For the purpose of [giving rise to activities aimed at saving all beings] without restriction, one's activities become the work of a

Buddha.[58] When one initiates a spontaneously free mind, what joy is not provided? When one's activities become the work of a Buddha, what pain is not borne? When one is constantly joyful, one is equally concerned for [*guan*] those of superior and inferior abilities. When one endures every pain, one saves everyone, be they bitter enemies or intimate friends.

> [416c26] 遂使三草二木。咸歸一地之榮。邪種焦芽。同霑一雨之潤。斯乃盡善盡美。無比無儔。可謂括盡因門。搜窮果海。故得創發菩提之士。初求般若之人。了知成佛之端由。頓圓無滯。明識歸家之道路。直進何疑。或離此別修。隨他妄解。如[(㲉-一)/牛]搆角取乳。緣木求魚。徒歷三祇。終無一得。

Consequently sentient beings, regardless of their capacities,[59] are all destined for the glories of Buddhahood. When the seeds of perverse views are destroyed at the bud, they are all equally refreshed with the moisture of the same dharma-rain. This, in other words, refers to the all-inclusive goodness and all-inclusive exquisiteness [of Buddhist teaching], without equal and without peer. It can be referred to as the all-inclusive gate of causes for exhaustively pondering the sea of results [i.e., Buddhahood]. In this way, one instigates the inspiration to become a *bodhi* hero [i.e., bodhisattva], and begins to search for the *prajñā* man [i.e., Buddha]. When one knows the requirements for becoming a Buddha, one is suddenly and perfectly free of obstruction. When one understands the path for returning home, one goes there directly without any hesitation. Some deviate from this [teaching] to practice independently, following the erroneous explanations of others.[60] It is like pulling on horns to get milk, or climbing a tree in search of fish.[61] Even if one followed them for three eons, one would never obtain a single benefit.

> [417a3] 若依此旨。信受弘持。如快舸隨流。無諸阻滯。又遇便風之勢。更加櫓棹之功。則疾屆寶城。忽登覺岸。可謂資糧易辦。

If [on the other hand] one relies on the teaching presented here, one will receive extensive support by trusting in it, like a fast boat flowing with the current. Without any obstacles [in its path], its speed increases when it encounters the effects of favorable winds. [The speed of the boat] is further increased by the effect of oars and poles [used to propel it]. Then, as soon as one arrives at the jeweled city, one quickly climbs on to the shore of enlightenment.[62] It surely means that those endowed with various capacities are easily accommodated.

> [417a5] 道果先成。被迦葉上行之衣。坐釋迦法空之座。登彌勒毘盧之閣。入普賢法界之身。能令客作賤人。全領長者之家業。忽使沈

空小果。頓受如來之記名。未有一門匪通斯道。必無一法不契此宗。過去覺王。因茲成佛。未來大士。仗此證真。則何一法門而不開。何一義理而不現。無一色非三摩鉢地。無一聲非陀羅尼門。一味而盡變醍醐。聞一香而皆入法界。風柯月渚。並可傳心。煙島雲林。咸提妙旨。步步蹈金色之界。念念嗅薝蔔之香。掬滄海而已得百川。到須彌而皆同一色。煥兮開觀象之目。盡復自宗。寂爾導求珠之心。俱還本法。遂使邪山落仞。苦海收波。智楫以之安流。妙峰以之高出。

The fruit of the Way [i.e., Buddhahood] was realized by our forebears—don Kāśyapa's robe of superior practice, sit in Śākyamuni's seat [erected on] the emptiness of constituent elements, climb into Maitreya's pavilion of vinaya practice, and enter Samantabhādra's "dharma-realm" body. They are able to make an impoverished guest receive the complete inheritance of the [wealthy] householder.[63] If you are suddenly made to delve into [the teaching of] emptiness and [experience] its initial fruits, you will at once receive a prediction of future fame as a tathāgata, [even though] you do not yet have any gate [by which to pursue this path], and are not yet proficient in the pathways of Buddhist teaching. There is never a single dharma not tacitly joined to this implicit truth [of Buddhism] [*zong*]. If in the past, the king of enlightenment [i.e., Śākyamuni] depended on it to become the Buddha, and in the future, great heroes [i.e., bodhisattvas] will rely on it to realize the truth, then what dharma-gate does not reveal it, what doctrinal principle does not divulge it? There is not a single form [of the objective realm] that is not the basis for samādhi. There is not a single sound that is not an entrance to *dhāranī*. After a single taste of it, everything is transformed into its true flavor.[64] Even after a single whiff of it, everything enters the dharma-realm. The wind, tree branches, the moon, and a sandy beach all can transmit mind. A blazing fire, an island, clouds, and a grove of trees all promote the wondrous message [of Buddhist teaching]. With each and every step, one treads the golden world.[65] In each and every thought, one smells the aroma of the most fragrant of flowers.[66] Even after scooping a vast sea dry, the hundred rivers will still flow. From the top of Mt. Sumeru, everything has the same uniform color. As soon as one opens the eye [of wisdom] for contemplating images, one unequivocally returns to the implicit truth of oneself [*zizong*]. In a state of tranquility, one instructs the mind to seek the pearl [i.e., enlightenment], fully returning to the original truth [of who one is]. As a result, one causes the mountain of perverse views to fall asunder, and the sea of afflictions to be decimated. One uses the oars of wisdom to safely follow the current, and wondrous lofty peaks appear at the summit.

> [417a19] 今詳祖佛大意。經論正宗。削去繁文。唯搜要旨。假申問答。廣引證明。舉一心為宗。照萬法如鏡。編聯古製之深義。撮略寶藏之圓詮。同此顯揚。稱之曰錄。分為百卷。大約三章。先立正宗。以為歸趣。次申問答。用去疑情。後引真詮。成其圓信。以茲妙善。普施含靈。同報佛恩其傳斯旨耳。

Now, to make evident the great purpose of the patriarchs and Buddhas and the correct implicit truth [*zhengzong*] of Buddhist scriptures and treatises, I have condensed the profuse writings of Buddhism, seeking out only the essential teachings. By provisionally putting forth questions and answers, and citing extensively [from scriptures and treatises] to provide evidence, I advance that universal mind is the implicit truth [*zong*], revealing the myriad dharmas like a mirror [*jing*]. I have brought together here the profound doctrines formulated in times past, and selected and summarized what is contained throughout the entire corpus of writings in the "treasure storehouse" [i.e., canon of Buddhist scriptures]. All Buddhist writings are represented here. I refer to them as "records" [*lu*]. I have divided the work into one hundred fascicles, broadly outlined in three sections. The first section establishes the correct implicit truth [of Buddhism] [*zhengzong*]; I regard it as the ultimate goal. The next section puts forth questions and answers; I use them to dispel feelings of doubt. The final section cites from the corpus of Buddhist writings for verification; it earns the reader's full trust.[67] Consequently, I have transmitted this teaching [i.e., the *Zongjing lu*] so that spiritually endowed beings may all repay the Buddha's kindness by practicing wondrous good deeds everywhere.[68]

Fascicle 1 標宗章第一, Section 1: Revealing the Implicit Truth

> [417b5] 詳夫。祖標禪理。傳默契之正宗。佛演教門。立詮下之大旨。則前賢所稟。後學有歸。是以先列標宗章。

Know clearly [that the teachings of Buddhism include both] the principles of Chan that the patriarchs revealed by transmitting the correct implicit truth [*zhengzong*] silently and tacitly, and the doctrinal teachings that the Buddha preached to establish the cardinal message through textual writings. Consequently, later students place their trust in what has been inherited from former worthies. On account of this, I begin my work with a section on revealing the implicit truth [*biaozong*].

> [417b7] 為有疑故問。以決疑故答。因問而疑情得啟。因答而妙解潛生。謂此圓宗難信難解。是第一之說。備最上之機。

若不假立言詮。無以蕩其情執。因指得月。不無方便之門。獲兔忘。自合天真之道。

Because there are doubts [regarding the fundamental source], I have posed questions. In order to resolve the doubts, I provide answers. Through the questions, I expose feelings of doubt. Through the answers, the wondrous enlightenment surreptitiously emerges. This is referred to as the "perfect teaching" [*yuanzong*], [a teaching] difficult to trust in and hard to understand. It is the foremost explanation [of Buddhist teaching], suited for those of the highest capacity. If not for the provisional use of words and texts, there would be no way to eliminate these emotional attachments. By using the finger to point at the moon,[69] I do not disallow the techniques [employed] in expedient means. By forgetting the snare after catching the hare,[70] [these methods] are in natural harmony with the way of things as ordained by Heaven.[71]

[417b11] 次立問答章。但以時當末代。罕遇大機。觀淺心浮根微智劣。雖知宗旨的有所歸。問答決疑漸消惑障。

Next, I establish a section of "questions and answers" [*wenda*].[72] At this time of the latter age of the Law [when Buddhism is in decline], it is rare to encounter anyone with great capacity. [Powers of] contemplation are weak, the mind is wayward, roots [of goodness] slender, and [powers of] wisdom slight. Even when [people] know the principles and doctrines of Buddhist teaching and are devoted to them to some extent, the questions and answers posed to resolve their doubts gradually eliminate their confusion.

[417b13] 欲堅信力。須假證明。廣引祖佛之誠言。密契圓常之大道。遍採經論之要旨。圓成決定之真心。後陳引證章。

Desiring to strengthen the power of their trust in Buddhism, I provisionally avail myself [of sources] for verifying and clarifying [the inherent truth of Buddhism]. I cite extensively from the sincere words of the patriarchs and Buddhas, in secret and tacit agreement with the great truth [of Buddhist teaching], perfect and permanent. I have selected the essential teachings from throughout the scriptures and treatises to perfectly ascertain true mind. Finally, I present a section "citing sources as evidence" [*yinzheng*].[73]

[417b16] 以此三章。通為一觀。搜羅該括。備盡於茲矣。

Accordingly, these three sections together constitute a comprehensive view [of Buddhist teaching]. I have searched through the Buddhist canon,

selecting what is appropriate. [The results] have been made fully available in this work.

Question-and-Answer 1

[417b17] 問。先德云。若教我立宗定旨。如龜上覓毛。兔邊求角。楞伽經偈云。一切法不生。不應立是宗。何故標此章名。

QUESTION A former virtuous one said:[74]
If you teach me to establish the implicit truth [*zong*] by settling on doctrines, it would be like looking for hair on a tortoise or searching for horns on a hare. A verse in the *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "All phenomena are unborn; one should not establish this as the implicit truth."[75]
How do you explain your title for this section, ["revealing the implicit truth"]?

[417b19] 答。斯言遣滯。若無宗之宗。則宗說兼暢。古佛皆垂方便門。禪宗亦開一線道。切不可執方便而迷大旨。又不可廢方便而絕後陳。然機前無教。教後無實。設有一解一悟。皆是落後之事。屬第二頭。

ANSWER Statements like these are for dispelling attachments. If it refers to "the implicit truth which denies implicit truth" [*wuzong zhi zong*], the implicit truth [itself] and explanations [of it] both elucidate [this principle].[76] Since the Buddhas of the past all provided expedient means and Chan lineages [*chanzong*] also revealed a line of access, in essence, one cannot grasp onto expedient means and lose the cardinal message [revealed by Chan patriarchs], nor can one reject expedient means and deny later explanations [provided in doctrinal teachings]. Nevertheless, before the capability to respond to spiritual messages, there was no teaching. After the teaching [was formulated], nothing [it explained] was actually real. Even though there is true liberation and true awakening, [explanations regarding] both are nothing more than objective [accounts] far removed [from the original event]; they are categorized as secondary considerations.

[417b24] 所以大智度論云。以佛眼觀一切十方國土中一切物。尚不見無。何況有法。畢竟空法。能破顛倒。令菩薩成佛。是事尚不可得。何況凡夫顛倒有法。

Therefore the *Treatise on Mahā prajñāpāramita* [*Da zhidu lun*] says:[77]

By observing with the Buddha-eye everything within all the lands of the ten directions, one still does not see that [these things] do not exist. How can they exist as phenomena when ultimately they are empty phenomena? Being able to destroy and overcome [the view of phenomena as existing] causes bodhisattvas to become Buddhas. How can common people, to whom this aspect is still unattainable, overcome [viewing them as] existing phenomena?

[417b27] 今依祖佛言教之中。約今學人。隨見心性發明之處。立心為宗。

I now rely on what appears among the oral teachings of the patriarchs and Buddhas,[78] summarizing them for contemporary students. By referring to the places that [speak of] seeing the mind-nature and of developing illumination, I establish mind [*xin*] as the implicit truth [*zong*].

[417b28] 是故西天釋迦文佛云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

On account of this, in India Śākyamuni Buddha said:[79]

The mind the Buddhas spoke of is the source, "gatelessness" [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate.

[417b29] 此土初祖達磨大師云。以心傳心。不立文字。

The first patriarch in this country, the great teacher Bodhidharma, said:[80]

On the basis of mind transmit mind; do not rely on words and letters.

[417c1] 則佛佛手授。授斯旨。祖祖相傳。傳此心。

Consequently, the Buddhas handed down their teaching by handing it personally from one to another; the patriarchs transmitted this mind by transmitting it personally from one to another.

[417c2] 已上約祖佛所立宗旨。又諸賢聖所立宗體者。

To summarize what is stated above, it is the implicit truth and teaching [*zongzhi*] established by the patriarchs and Buddhas, and the implicit truth and essence [*zongti*] established by worthies and sages.

[417c3] 杜順和尚依華嚴經。立自性清淨圓明體。此即是如來藏中法性之體。從本已來。性自滿足。處染不垢。修治不淨。故云自性清

淨。性體遍照。無幽不矚。故曰圓明。又隨流加染而不垢。返流除染而不淨。亦可在聖體而不增。處凡身而不減。雖有隱顯之殊。而無差別之異。煩惱覆之則隱。智慧了之則顯。非生因之所生。唯了因之所了。

The monk Dushun relied on the *Huayan jing*:[81]

> Establish the pure, perfectly luminous essence of self-nature. This is the essence of the dharma-nature within the womb of the tathāgata. From the very beginning, [self-] nature is of itself complete and sufficient. Incidental stains do not blemish it; practices to remove stains do not purify it. Thus it is referred to as "the purity of self-nature." The essence of [self-] nature shines everywhere. There is no darkness that it does not expose. Thus it is referred to as "perfect illumination."
>
> When it follows the flow [of existence] it remains unblemished even though it appears to be stained. When it goes against the flow, it is not purified even though it eliminates stains. Moreover, it cannot be enhanced even when it constitutes the essence of sagehood; nor is it diminished when placed in the body of a common person. Even though a distinction exists between what is hidden and what is revealed, it admits of no differences that would allow discrimination. When illusions cover it, it is hidden.[82] When wisdom clarifies it, it is revealed. It is not something produced by causesit is simply clarified through realization.[83]

[417c11] 斯即一切眾生自心之體。靈知不昧。寂照無遺。非但華嚴之宗。亦是一切教體。

This is the intrinsic essence of the mind existing in all sentient beings. Spiritual knowledge is not obscure. Tranquil illumination has not departed. This is not only the implicit truth [*zong*] of the Huayan school, it is also the intrinsic essence of all Buddhist teachings.

[417c13] 佛地論。立一清淨法界體。論云。清淨法界者。一切如來真實自體。無始時來。自性清淨。具足種種過十方界極微塵數性相功德。無生無滅。猶如虛空。遍一切有情。平等共有。與一切法。不一不異。非有非無。離一切相。一切分別。一切名言。皆不能得。唯是清淨聖智所證。二空無我所顯。真如為其自性。諸聖分證。諸佛圓證。

The *Fodi lun* [Treatise on the Buddhahood Scripture] establishes the essence of a single, pure dharma-realm. The *Treatise* says:[84]

> The pure dharma-realm is the true intrinsic essence of all tathāgatas. It is without beginning. Its intrinsic nature is pure. It is fully endowed with infinitely numerous meritorious virtues deriving from nature and form, existing throughout every type of world in the ten directions. It is not born and will not perish. Like empty space, it pervades [the reality of] all living beings and exists equally among all of them. It is neither the same as nor different from all the phenomena [it exists among]. It neither exists nor is it nonexistent. It is separate from all external forms, all distinctions, and all names and words. One is unable to obtain it in anything. It is realized only through pure sagely wisdom. The two kinds of emptiness deny a [permanent] self or [permanent] objects and reveal true suchness as their intrinsic nature. This is what sages partially realize and Buddhas fully realize.

> [417c20] 此清淨法界。即真如妙心。為諸佛果海之源。作群生實際之地。此皆是立宗之異名。非別有體。或言宗者。尊也。以心為宗。故云。天上天下。唯我獨尊。或言體者。性也。以心為體。故云。知一切法。即心自性。或言智者。以心為智。即是本性寂照之用。所以云。自覺聖智。普光明智等。若約義用而分。則體宗用別者會歸平等。則一道無差。

This pure dharma-realm is the wondrous mind of true suchness. It constitutes the basis for the sea of fruits [i.e., Buddhahood] of a Buddha,[85] and forms the ground of true reality for living beings. In each case, it is a different name that has been established for the implicit truth [*zong*], not a separately existing essence. Some refer to the source as what is to be esteemed, regarding mind as the source. As a result, they claim that from the heavens above to the earth below only we [humans] alone esteem it. Some refer to the essence as nature, regarding mind as the essence. That is why [the scriptures] say, "Know that all phenomena are the intrinsic nature of mind."[86] Some refer to wisdom, regarding mind as wisdom, [claiming] that it is the function of the tranquil illumination of original nature. They therefore refer to self-awakening, sagely wisdom, universal light, illuminating wisdom, and so on. If one explains the meaning [of the dharma-realm] in terms of function and variation, the essence and source are active and distinct [from each other]. If one understands [the dharma-realm] in terms of the inherent equality [of all phenomena], the law of universality allows for no differences [among them].

[417c27] 所以華嚴記問云。等妙二位。全同如來普光明智者。結成入普。所以。此會說等妙二覺。二覺全同普光明智。即是會歸之義。

On account of this, a question in the records of the Huayan school says:[87]

> The final two stages of the bodhisattva path, the stage of understanding the inherent equality of all phenomena and the stage of wondrous enlightenment, are entirely the same as the universal light and illuminating wisdom of the Tathāgata.[88] When one completes these stages, one enters [the realm of] universality. Consequently, when those who understand this speak about the final two stages of awakening, the stage of understanding the inherent quality of enlightenment and the stage of wondrous enlightenment, [they say] the final two stages are entirely the same as the universal light and illuminating wisdom [of the Tathāgata]. This is their inherent meaning.

[418a1] 問。等覺同妙覺。於理可然。妙覺之外。何有如來普光明智。為所同耶。

QUESTION In terms of Buddhist theory, it must be the case that enlightenment based on understanding the inherent equality of all phenomena is the same as wondrous enlightenment. If [the stage of understanding the inherent equality of all phenomena] were separate from wondrous enlightenment, how would they be the same as the universal light and illuminating wisdom of the Tathāgata?

[418a2] 答。說等覺。說妙覺。即是約位。普光明智。不屬因果。該通因果。其由自覺聖智超絕因果。

ANSWER Explanations of enlightenment based on understanding the inherent equality of all phenomena and explanations of wondrous enlightenment are determined according to the stage of a bodhisattva. The universal light and illuminating wisdom [of the Tathāgata] are not confined to [the realm of] cause and effect, yet completely encompass [the realm of] cause and effect. Because of this, the wisdom of enlightened sages transcends [the realm of] cause and effect.

[418a4] 故楞伽經。妙覺位外。更立自覺聖智之位。亦猶佛性有因。有果。有因因。有果果。以因取之。是因佛性。以果取之。

是果佛性。然則佛性非因非果。普光明智。亦復如是。體絕因果。為因果依。果方究竟。故云。如來。普光明智。

As a result, the *Lankavatāra sūtra* further establishes the ranks of self-awakening and sagely wisdom apart from the rank of wondrous enlightenment.[89] It is also similar to Buddha-nature being based on causes, being based on effects, being based on the causes of causes, or being based on the effects of effects.[90] When regarded in terms of causes, there are causes for Buddha-nature. When understood in terms of effects, there are effects of Buddha-nature. Nevertheless, Buddha-nature is neither cause nor effect. The universal light and illuminating wisdom [of the Tathāgata] is also like this. The essence [of the universal light and illuminating wisdom of the Tathāgata] destroys [the functioning of] cause and effect. It is what cause and effect depend on. In terms of effects, it is the ultimate reward. That is why it is referred to as the universal light and illuminating wisdom of the Tathāgata.

[418a9] 或稱為本者。以心為本。故涅槃疏云。涅槃宗本者。諸行皆以大涅槃心為本。本立道生。如無綱目不立。無皮毛靡附。心為本故。其宗得立。

Sometimes, when people refer to the origin, they regard mind as the origin. That is why the commentary on the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* says:[91]

With regard to the origin of the implicit truth [*zongben*] of nirvāṇa, in all practices, without exception, consider the mind of great nirvāṇa as the origin. When the origin is established, the Way [i.e., Buddhism] thrives. If there were no outline, [the Way] would go unnoticed. Without skin, hair would have nothing to attach to. Because mind is the origin, this implicit truth can be established.

Question-and-Answer 2

[418a13] 問。若欲明宗。只合純提祖意。何用兼引諸佛菩薩言教。以為指南。故宗門中云。借蝦為眼。無自己分。只成文字聖人。不入祖位。

QUESTION If you want to clarify the implicit truth of Buddhism [*zong*], you need only promote the message of the patriarchs. What use is there in combining it with citations from the oral teachings of the Buddhas and

bodhisattvas, taking these as a guide? The reason why members of Chan lineages [*zongmen*] claim "By availing oneself of the eyes of a snake, one will not distinguish things for oneself"[92] is that one only becomes a sage of words and letters [by following the scriptures], but does not enter the ranks of the patriarchs.

[418a16] 答。從上非是一向不許看教。恐慮不詳佛語。隨文生解。失於佛意。以負初心。或若因詮得旨。不作心境對治。直了佛心。又有何過。

ANSWER The above claim is not intended to prohibit reading the scriptures. I worry that people will not know well the words of the Buddha. People develop understanding through texts. When people forget about the Buddha's message, one safeguards the minds of beginners on the basis of [texts]. Whoever understands the teaching through the corpus of Buddhist writings will not create a mind and realm of objects in opposition to each other, but will realize the mind of the Buddha directly. What error is there in this?

[418a18] 只如藥山和尚。一生看大涅槃經。手不釋卷。時有學人問。和尚尋常不許學人看經。和尚為什麼自看。師云。只為遮眼。問。學人還看得不。師云。汝若看。牛皮也須穿。且如西天第一祖師。

It is just like Reverend Yaoshan reading the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* throughout his life,[93] not letting the volume leave his hand.[94]

At the time, a student asked: "Reverend, you normally do not allow us students to read scriptures. Reverend, why do you yourself read them?"[95]

The Master [Yaoshan] said: "It is simply to close my eyes."

The student asked: "Should students also read [scriptures] or not?"

The Master said: "If you read them, you will still need to pierce the ox's hide, just like the first patriarch in India."

[418a23] 是本師釋迦牟尼佛。首傳摩訶迦葉為初祖。次第相傳。迄至此土六祖。皆是佛弟子。今引本師之語。訓示弟子。令因言薦道。見法知宗。不外馳求。親明佛意。得旨即入祖位。誰論頓漸之門。見性現證圓通。豈標前後之位。若如是者。何有相違。且如西天上代二十八祖。此土六祖。乃至洪州馬祖大師。及南陽忠國師。鵝湖大義禪師。思空山本淨禪師等。並博通經論。圓悟自心。所有示徒。皆引誠證。終不出自胸臆。妄有指陳。是以綿歷歲華。真風不墜。以聖言為定量。邪偽難移。用至教為指南。依憑有據。

This is [a reference to] how the original teacher Śākyamuni Buddha initiated the transmission to Mahākāśyapa and become the first patriarch. It was transmitted in succession from patriarch to patriarch, down to the sixth patriarch in this land [i.e., China]. All [the patriarchs] are descendants of the Buddha. I now cite the words of the original teacher [Śākyamuni] to train and instruct disciples, encouraging their practice by having them follow his statements; to know the implicit truth [*zong*] through reading the Dharma, and not rush around searching for it elsewhere; to personally realize the Buddha's intention. After they understand the message, they at once enter the ranks of the patriarchs; none of them argues over sudden and gradual methods. When they see their nature, they exhibit evidence of their perfect comprehension; how can they advocate ranking one patriarch over another? If this is the case, what contradiction is there between the scriptural teachings and the message of Chan patriarchs? In the case of the twenty-eight patriarchs of former ages in India, the six patriarchs in this land, as well as Great Master Mazu of Hongzhou, and National Preceptor [Hui]zhong of Nanyang, Chan master Dayi of Ehu, Chan master Benjing of Mount Sikong, and so on, all of them perfectly awakened to their own minds through thorough knowledge of the scriptures and treatises.[96] Whenever they preached to their followers, they always referred to real documented evidence. They never speculated beyond what was in their own hearts, or expounded on the basis of false presuppositions. Consequently, even as the years pass uninterrupted, the winds of truth do not abate. By regarding the words of the sage [the Buddha] as the true measure, you will not be deceived by perverse and false claims. By using the teaching as your guide, you will have something to rely on.

> [418b5] 故圭峰和尚云。謂諸宗始祖。即是釋迦。經是佛語。禪是佛意。諸佛心口。必不相違。諸祖相承。根本。是佛親付。菩薩造論。始末。唯弘佛經。況迦葉乃至_多弘傳皆兼三藏。及馬鳴龍樹。悉是祖師。造論釋經。數十萬偈。觀風化物。無定事儀。

That is why Reverend Guifeng [Zongmi] said:[97]

> It means that the first patriarch of the various schools was Śākyamuni. Scriptures are the word of the Buddha; Chan is the thought of the Buddha. There is no difference whatsoever between what the Buddha [thought] with his mind and [uttered] with his mouth. What the patriarchs receive from each other is fundamentally what the Buddha personally bequeathed to them. When bodhisattvas composed treatises, from first to last they simply expanded on the Buddha's scriptures. How can it be otherwise since the patriarchs

from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta, in addition to expanding Chan transmission, were also tripitaka masters?[98] In addition, Aśvagosa and Nāgārjuna both were Chan patriarchs. They wrote treatises explaining the scriptures, amounting to thousands upon ten thousands of verses. They spread the teaching in accordance with actual circumstances, free of any restriction.

[418b10] 所以凡稱知識。法爾須明佛語。印可自心。若不與了義一乘圓教相應。設證聖果。亦非究竟。今且錄一二以證斯文。

On account of this, [the Dharma] is commonly referred to as a good friend. The Dharma is inevitably necessary for clarifying the words of the Buddha, so that [these words] can be impressed on one's own mind. If one is not made to understand the perfect teaching of the one vehicle, even if one realizes sagehood, it is still not ultimate realization. At present, then, I have recorded a few passages [from the patriarch's teachings] in order to verify [the message in] these [scriptural] texts.[99]

[418b13] 洪州馬祖大師云。達磨大師從南天竺國來。唯傳大乘一心之法。以楞伽經印眾生心。恐不信此一心之法。楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。何故佛語心為宗。佛語心者。即心即佛。今語即是心語。故云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門者。達本性空。更無一法。性自是門。性無有相。亦無有門。故云。無門為法門。亦名空門。亦名色門。何以故。空是法性空。色是法性色。無形相故。謂之空。知見無盡故。謂之色。

The great master Mazu of Hongzhou said:[100]

When the great master Bodhidharma arrived from southern India, he transmitted the greater vehicle teaching of universal mind exclusively. He used the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to certify the minds of sentient beings, fearing that they would not believe this teaching on universal mind. The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth [*zong*]; 'gatelessness' [*wumen*] is the dharma-gate."

Why does [the *Lankavatāra sūtra* say] "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth?" As for "the mind that the Buddha spoke of," mind is Buddha. The words [I utter] right now are mind-words. That is why it says, "The mind that the Buddha spoke of is the implicit truth." As for "gatelessness is the dharma-gate," when one understands the emptiness of the inherent nature [of things], there is

not a single dharma whatsoever. Nature itself is the gateway. But because nature has no form and there is no gateway [to access it], [the *sūtra*] says "'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate." Why is it also known as the "gate of emptiness," and as the "gate of physical forms"? Emptiness refers to the emptiness of the dharma-nature; physical forms refer to the physical forms of the dharma-nature. Because the dharma-nature has no shape or form, it is referred to as "empty." Because the dharma-nature is known and seen in everything without limit, it is referred to as "physical forms."

[418b22] 故云。如來色無盡。智慧亦復然。隨生諸法處。復有無量三昧門。遠離內外知見情執。亦名總持門。亦名施門。謂不念內外善惡諸法。乃至皆是諸波羅蜜門。色身佛。是實相佛家用。

Therefore, [the scriptures] say:[101] "The physical forms of the Tathāgata are unlimited, and wisdom is also like this [i.e., unlimited] as well." Since the various dharmas occupy their respective positions in accordance with the process of arising, they also serve as inestimable gateways to samādhi. Distancing oneself far from emotional attachments to what is known internally and seen externally is referred to as the gateway to esoteric techniques on the one hand and as the gateway to practices that bestow blessings on the other.[102] It means that when one does not think of the various dharmas as subjective or objective, as good or evil, the various dharmas all become gateways to the *pāramitās*. The Buddha comprised of a physical body is the true form [of the Buddha] used by members of the Buddhist faith.[103]

[418b26] 經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦名法性家焰。亦法性功勳。菩薩行般若時。火燒三界內外諸物盡。於中不損一草葉。為諸法如相故。故經云。不壞於身而隨一相。

The scriptures say:[104] "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination."[105] They [i.e., the scriptures] also refer to it [i.e., the Buddha's physical body] as the blazing house of the dharma-nature, or as the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature.[106] When bodhisattvas practice *prajñā*, the fire [of wisdom] incinerates everything in the three realms [of desire, form, and formlessness], whether subjective or objective, but does not harm a

single blade of grass or leaf in the process. The reason is that the various dharmas are forms existing in the state of suchness.[107] That is why a scripture [*Vimālakīrti sūtra*] says:[108] "Do no harm to the physical body, and be in accord with the universal form [underlying all phenomena]."

[418c1] 今知自性是佛。於一切時中行住坐臥。更無一法可得。乃至真如不屬一切名。亦無無名。故經云。智不得有無。

Since we now know that [our own] self-nature is Buddha, no matter what the situation, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained. And even though true suchness is not limited by any name, there are no names that do not refer to it. This is why a scripture [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] says:[109] "Wisdom is not obtained in existence or nonexistence."

[418c3] 內外無求。任其本性。亦無任性之心。經云。種種意生身。我說為心量。即無心之心。無量之量。無名為真名。無求是真求。

Internally or externally, there is nothing to seek. Let your original nature reign free, but do not give reign to a "mind" [that exists over and above] nature. When a scripture [the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] says:[110] "All the various deliberations give rise to [notions of] physical bodies; I say they are accumulations of the mind [i.e., mind-only]," it refers to "mindless mind" [*wuxin zhi xin*, i.e., the mind of "no-mind," or a mind of spontaneous freedom] and "contentless contents" [i.e., the contents of "no-contents"]. The "nameless" is the true name.[111] "Nonseeking" is true seeking.

[418c5] 經云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善。不作惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依。法。無自性。三界唯心。經云。森羅及萬像。一法之所印。凡所見色。皆是見心。心不自心。因色故心。色不自色。因心故色。故經云。見色即是見心。

[According to Mazu Daoyi]:[112]

The scriptures say: "Those who seek the Dharma should not seek anything."[113] There is no Buddha separate from mind; there is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not create evil.[114] In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Phenomena have no intrinsic nature. The triple realm is simply

[the manifestation of] mind. The scriptures say: "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth."[115] Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself. Mind is mind because of physical forms.[116] Physical forms are not physical forms of themselves. Physical forms are physical forms because of mind. That is why the scriptures say: "To see physical forms is to see mind."[117]

[418c10] 南陽忠國師云。禪宗法者。應依佛語一乘了義。契取本原心地。轉相傳授。與佛道同。不得依於妄情。及不了義教。橫作見解。疑誤後學。俱無利益。縱依師匠領受宗旨。若與了義教相應。即可依行。若不了義教。互不相許。譬如師子身中蟲。自食師子身中肉。非天魔外道。而能破滅佛法矣。

Preceptor of State Nanyang [Hui]zhong said:[118]

Chan school teaching [*chanzong fa*] must follow the words of the Buddha, the perfect meaning of the one-vehicle, and tacitly conform to the original mind-ground. What [members of the Chan school] transmit, in turn, to each other is the same as what the Buddha taught. It is not obtained by relying on presumptuous attitudes. Moreover, when [members of the Chan school] do not understand [Chan through] doctrinal teachings, they form views and opinions about it haphazardly. In their uncertainty they lead future students astray and deprive them of the advantages [the teaching offers]. If only they would trust a [true] master's skill, they would be guided to the principle of implicit truth [*zongzhi*]. If they, through [training with a master], understand the correspondence between [Chan] and doctrinal teaching, they should rely on practice. Without understanding [the correspondence between Chan and] doctrinal teaching, [a true master] will not allow their succession in the Chan lineage. They will be like insects on the body of a lion. While feeding on the flesh of a lion's body is not [as bad as] the demonic way of Mara, it is able to destroy Buddhist teaching.[119]

[418c17] 時有禪客問曰。阿那箇是佛心。師曰。牆壁瓦礫無情之物。並是佛心。禪客曰。與經大相違也。經云。離牆壁瓦礫無情之物。名為佛性。今云。一切無情之物皆是佛心。未審心之與性。為別不別。師曰。迷人即別。悟人不別。禪客曰。與經又相違也。經云。善男子。心非佛性。佛性是常。心是無常。今云不別。未審此意如何。

At the time, a Chan student asked:[120] "What is the Buddha-mind?" Master [Nanyang] said: "Things without emotion, like fences and walls, tiles and stones, are all the Buddha-mind."

The Chan student said: "[What you say] completely contradicts the scriptures. The scriptures say: "Inanimate objects, like fences and walls, tiles and stones, are referred to as Buddha-nature."[121] Now, you say that every inanimate object, without exception, is Buddha-mind. You have failed to determine whether mind and nature are different or not."

The master said: "To confused people they are different. To enlightened people they are not different."

The Chan student said: "[What you say] again differs from the scriptures. The scriptures say: 'Good sons. Mind is not Buddha-nature. Buddha-nature is permanent. Mind is impermanent.'[122] Now, you say that they are not different. You have not discerned their meaning. Why?"

[418c24] 師曰。汝自依語不依義。譬如寒月結水為冰。及至暖時釋冰成水。眾生迷時結性成心。悟時釋心成性。汝定執無情之物非心者。經不應言三界唯心。故華嚴經云。應觀法界性。一切唯心造。今且問汝。無情之物。為在三界內。為在三界外。為復是心不是心。若非心者。經不應言三界唯心。若是心者。又不應言無性。汝自違經。我不違也。

The master said: "You readily depend on words but do not depend on the meaning.[123] By way of comparison, it is like water freezing to form ice during cold months, and ice thawing to become water when it warms up. When sentient beings are confused, their constrained nature forms mind. When they awaken, their unrestricted mind becomes nature. If inanimate objects have no mind,[124] as you insist, the scriptures would not say the triple realm is mind-only. That is why the *Huayan jing* says: 'You must contemplate the nature of the dharma-realm. Everything is the creation of mind-only.'[125] Now, I ask you, do inanimate objects exist within the triple realm or outside the triple realm? And further, are they mind or are they not mind? If they are not mind, the scriptures would not say 'the triple realm is mind-only.'[126] If they are mind, moreover, [the scriptures] would not say '[inanimate objects] do not have [Buddha-] nature.' You are the one who contradicts the scriptures. I do not contradict them."

[419a2] 鵝湖大義禪師。因詔入內。遂問京城諸大師。大德。汝等以何為道。或有對云。知見為道。師云。維摩經云。法離見聞覺知。云何以知見為道。又有對云。無分別為道。師云。經云。善能分別諸法相。於第一義而不動。云何以無分別為道。又皇帝問。如何是佛性。答不離陛下所問。

Chan master Dayi of Goose Lake was summoned to the palace.[127] Subsequently, he questioned the great masters and great virtuous ones of the capital:

"What do you consider to be the Way?"

One of them replied: "Knowing and seeing is the Way."

The master [Dayi] said: "The *Vimālakīrti sūtra* says: "The Dharma is apart from seeing, listening, feeling, and knowing."[128] Why do you consider knowing and seeing as the Way?"

Again, one of them replied: "When [knowing and seeing] are done without [engaging in] analysis,[129] they are the Way."

The master said: "The [*Vimālakīrti*] *sūtra* says: "When one is skillfully able to analyze phenomenal forms, by relying on the supreme meaning [of the Dharma] one does not alter them."[130] Why do you say when [knowing and seeing] are done without [engaging in] analysis, they are the Way?"[131]

Also, the emperor asked: "What is Buddha-nature?"

The master answered: "It is not separate from your majesty's question."[132]

[419a8] 是以或直指明心。或破執入道。以無方之辯。祛必定之執。運無得之智。屈有量之心。

As a result, in some cases [Chan masters] directly point to the illuminating mind.[133] In other cases they break down obstacles for entering the Way, and dispel firmly held attachments with unsurpassed eloquence.[134] Conveying the wisdom of the unobtainable, they subdue the deliberating mind.

[419a10] 思空山本淨禪師。語京城諸大德云。汝莫執心。此心皆因前塵而有。如鏡中像。無體可得。若執實有者。則失本原。常無自性。圓覺經云。妄認四大為自身相。六塵緣影為自心相。楞伽經云。不了心及緣。則生二妄想。了心及境界。妄想則不生。維摩經云。法非見聞覺知。

Chan master Benjing of Mt. Sikong told the great virtuous ones of the capital:[135]

You must not grasp mind. This mind exists completely because of what appears to the senses. Like images in a mirror, there is no essence that can be obtained. If you grasp them as really existing, you

are mistaken about their root origin and constantly deny their [true] inherent nature.

The *Scripture on Perfect Enlightenment* says: "You falsely acknowledge the four elements as the form of your own body, and images conditioned by the six senses as the forms of your own mind."[136]

The *Lankavatāra sūtra* says: "If you do not understand mind and conditions, then you produce erroneous conceptions [based on] duality. If you understand mind and the realm of objects, erroneous conceptions do not arise."[137]

The *Vimālakīrti sūtra* says: "Phenomena do not see, hear, feel, or know."[138]

[419a16] 且引三經。證斯真實。

[Benjing] thus cited from the three scriptures to ascertain the [nature of] true reality referred to here.

[419a16] 五祖下莊嚴大師。一生示徒。唯舉維摩經寶積長者讚佛頌末四句云。不著世間如蓮華。常善入於空寂行。達諸法相無罣礙。稽首如空無所依。學人問云。此是佛語。欲得和尚自語。師云。佛語即我語。我語即佛語。是故初祖西來。創行禪道。欲傳心印。須假佛經。以楞伽為證明。知教門之所自。遂得外人息謗。內學稟承。祖胤大興玄風廣被。

The great master Zhuangyan,[139] a descendant of the fifth patriarch, throughout his life told students:

I only recommend to you the four verses at the end of the poem in praise of the Buddha by the [son] of the elder Jeweled Accumulation in the *Vimālakīrti sūtra*:

Free of worldly attachments, like the lotus blossom,
Constantly you move within the real of emptiness and tranquility;
You have mastered the marks of all phenomena, no blocks or hindrances;
Like the sky, you lean on nothing—we bow our heads![140]

Astudent asked: "These are the Buddha's words.[141] We want to obtain your Reverend's own words."

Master [Zhuangyan] said: "The Buddha's words are my words. My words are the Buddha's words. The reason why the first patriarch came from the West was to establish and implement Chan teaching [*chandao*]. In his desire to

transmit the mind-seal, he provisionally made use of Buddhist scriptures. He used the *Lankavatāra sūtra* to verify and clarify [his message]. He knew the scriptural sources from which his own message derived. Subsequently, he got non-Buddhists to stop slandering Chan, and students of Buddhism to accept Chan. The patriarchs inherited [his message] and Chan flourished greatly; his sublime style was widely accepted."

> 是以初心始學之者。未自省發已前。若非聖教正宗。憑何修行進道。設不自生妄見。亦乃盡值邪師。故云。我眼本正。因師故邪。西天九十六種執見之徒。皆是斯類。故知木匪繩而靡直。理非教而不圓。

On account of this, if those beginners commencing their studies, at a point prior to initiating self-reflection themselves, deny the correct implicit truth [*zhengzong*] of the sage's teaching [i.e., the scriptures], what practices will they rely on for their progress? Even if they do not conceive erroneous views themselves, they will still encounter heterodox teachers wherever they go. As a result, I look to the original truth [i.e., the scriptures], because what [other] teachers convey is erroneous. The followers of the ninety-six kinds of attachment to [erroneous] views in India were all of a similar type [to these teachers]. Therefore, even when they know the methods for rectifying behavior,[142] they do not readily apply them. Without [doctrinal] teachings, [Chan] principles are inadequate.

> [419a28] 如上略引二三。皆是大善知識。物外宗師。禪苑麟龍。祖門龜鏡。示一教而風行電卷。垂一語而山崩海枯。帝王親師。朝野歸命。叢林取則。後學稟承。終不率自胸襟。違於佛語。凡有釋疑去偽。顯性明宗。無不一一廣引經文。備彰佛意。所以永傳後嗣。不墜家風。若不然者。又焉得至今紹繼昌盛。法力如是。證驗非虛。

In the cases of the limited number of [Chan masters] cited briefly above, all of them are important good friends, masters of the implicit truth [of the teaching] [*zongshi*] who transcend the limitations of physical objects.[143] The unicorns and dragons in the gardens of Chan reveal the universal teaching [using] the tortoise shells and mirrors [i.e., the spiritual methods] at the patriarchs' gate, whereby it is carried by the wind and revealed in the thunder.[144] When they impart words of universal truth, the mountains topple and the seas dry up. When the emperor is on friendly terms with Buddhist masters, the imperial court and the common folk are united in their devotion to Buddhism. If monasteries adopt [the proper] criteria, future students will inherit [true Buddhist teaching]. They will never indulge their own emotions and treat the words of

the Buddha with contempt. For the common people, [Buddhist teaching] has the effect of alleviating doubts and dispelling deceitfulness. It reveals the [mind-]nature and clarifies the implicit truth [*zong*]. All [true Chan masters] without exception, each and every one, refer extensively to the scriptures to reveal the thought of the Buddha in every possible way. Therefore, the transmission of these texts ensures the preservation of Buddhism for posterity; it will not cause the downfall of the Chan style. If this were not the case, how could Buddhism have continued to flourish up to now? Such is the power of Buddhist teaching. The results it demonstrates are real, not fictitious.

> [419b6] 又若欲研究佛乘。披尋寶藏。一一須消歸自己。言言使冥合真心。但莫執義上之文。隨語生見。直須探詮下之旨。契會本宗。則無師之智現前。天真之道不昧。

Moreover, if one wants to investigate the Buddha-vehicle, one will read extensively from the treasure storehouse [i.e., Buddhist scriptures]. Each and every [scripture] forces one to understand the truth about one's own self; utterance after utterance causes one to mysteriously unite with true mind. One simply should not grasp onto written texts as the highest meaning, forming [artificial] views according to the words. One should directly seek out the message written down in the corpus of Buddhist scriptures, tacitly uniting with the truth that is inherently implicit [*benzong*]. At that point, the wisdom that does not depend on any teacher reveals itself, and the way of heavenly truth is no longer obscure.

> [419b10] 如華嚴經云。知一切法。即心自性。成就慧身。不由他悟。

As the *Huayan jing* says:[145]

> Know that all phenomena are the intrinsic nature of mind.
> Realize that the wisdom-body is not awakened through anything else.

> [419b11] 故知教有助道之力。初心安可暫忘。細詳法利無邊。是乃搜 揚纂集。

On account of this, realize that the teaching has the power to assist one on the Way [to awakening]. Those beginning their study of Buddhism should never forget this, even for an instant. I know very clearly that the benefits of Buddhist teaching are immeasurable. That is why I sought out [the sources of Buddhist teaching] and collected them here.

> [419b13] 且凡論宗旨。唯逗頓機。如日出照高山駃馬見鞭影。

Furthermore, all of these sources, through their discussion of the meaning of the implicit truth [*zongzhi*], trigger directly the conditions for sudden awakening. It is comparable to a galloping steed seeing the shadow of a whip when the sun comes out and shines on a high mountain.[146]

> [419b14]所以丹霞和尚云。相逢不 擎出。舉意便知有。

Therefore, Reverend Danxia said:[147]

> When you happen to meet someone, do not raise topics to discuss openly. Simply comprehend them through intimation.

> [419b15] 如今宗鏡。尚不待舉意。便自知有。故首楞嚴經云。圓明了知。不因心念。揚眉動目。早是周遮。

In comparison, even though the [*Records of the*] *Source-Mirror* here does not concern [communication through] intimation, one will instinctively comprehend [the topics it raises for discussion]. That is why the *Śūrangama sūtra* says: "The realization of perfect illumination is not caused by mental deliberation."[148] In the moment it takes to raise the eyebrows or move the eyes, [mind] encompasses everything.[149]

> [419b17] 如先德頌云。便是猶倍句。動目即差違。若問曹谿旨。不更待揚眉。

As the poem of a former virtuous one [i.e., Chan master] says:[150]

> Thus it is similar to the often repeated line:
> "In the time it takes to move the eyes, transgressions occur."
> If one questions the message of Caoqi [the sixth patriarch],
> it will not even take the time [it takes] to raise the eyebrows.

> [419b19] 今為樂佛乘人。實未薦者。假以宗鏡。助顯真 心。雖挂文言。妙旨斯在。俯收中下。盡被群機。但任當人。各資己利。

Now, for those people who aspire to [study the teachings of] the Buddhist vehicle but have yet to realize their ambition, making use of the [*Records of the*] *Source-Mirror* [*zongjing*] will help them to reveal true mind. Even though it is based on written words, the wondrous message [of the Buddha] is contained in these. [The *Records of the Source-Mirror*] humbly accommodates those of average and lower ability, accepting beings of every capacity. It merely defers to [the needs of] each individual person, providing benefits according to their endowments.

[419b21] 百川雖潤。何妨大海廣含。五嶽自高。不礙太陽普照。根機莫等。樂欲匪同。於四門入處雖殊。在一真見時無別。如獲鳥者羅之一目。不可以一目為羅。理國者功在一人。不可以一人為國。

No matter how muddy the water of the hundred rivers, how can it adversely affect the vast expanse of water in the ocean? The five mountain peaks are, of themselves, lofty, but they do not obstruct the sun from shining everywhere. People's endowments and capabilities are not equal; their joys and desires are not the same. Even though the four gateways for entering [the teaching] are different,[151] at the moment one glimpses the truth that everything shares a common identity, nothing separates them. It is comparable to when one catches a bird, one snares it in an instant. One cannot equate the instant [when it is caught] with the snare [used to catch it]. When managing a country, the task rests with one person. One cannot equate this one person with the country [itself].

[419b25] 如內德論云。夫一水無以和羹。一木無以構室。一衣不稱眾 體。一藥不療殊疾。一彩無以為文繡。一聲無以諧琴瑟。一言無以勸眾善。一戒無以防多失。何得怪漸頓之異。令法門之專一。

As the *Neide lun* [Treatise on Inner Virtue] says:[152]

A single cup of water is insufficient for making a soup. A single tree is insufficient for building a house. A single piece of cloth will not clothe a multitude of bodies. A single dose of medicine will not cure a disease it was not intended for. A single patterned cloth is insufficient for making an elaborately designed robe. A single musical note is insufficient for creating harmonies with the *qin* and the *se*.[153] A single word is insufficient for encouraging various good deeds. A single precept is insufficient for preventing numerous faults. Isn't it odd to make the [single] distinction between gradual and sudden approaches the sole focus of Buddhist teaching methods?

[419b29] 故云。如為一人。眾多亦然。如為眾多。一人亦然。豈同劣解凡情。而生局見。我此無礙廣大法門。如虛空非相。不拒諸相發揮。似法性無身。匪礙諸身頓現。須以六相義該攝。斷常之見方消。用十玄門融通。去取之情始絕。

That is why [the scriptures] say, "What is appropriate for an individual person applies equally for everyone else; what is appropriate for everyone else applies equally for an individual person."[154] How can [scriptural teachings] be likened

to the limited viewpoint produced by poor understanding and common attitudes? What I [set forth] here does not hinder the vast and great [array of] Buddhist teaching methods. To compare, the void has no form, but this does not prevent forms from developing. Similarly, the dharma-nature is intangible, but this does not prevent corporeal bodies from suddenly appearing. When one utilizes [the Buddhist doctrine of] the six ways of viewing existence to encompass the meaning of everything,[155] the ways of looking at things as either transitory or eternal [i.e., nonexistent or existent] vanish. When one uses [the Buddhist doctrine of] the ten characteristics regarding the interdependence of phenomena,[156] feelings of either rejecting or becoming attached to phenomena begin to cease.

> [419c5] 又若實得一聞千悟。獲大總持。即胡假言詮。無勞解釋。船筏為渡迷津之者。導師因引失路之人。凡關一切言詮。於圓宗所示。皆為未了。文字性離。即是解脫。迷一切諸法真實之性。向心外取法。而起文字見者。

Moreover, if one truly attains a “thousand awakenings with a single question and obtains great esoteric powers [to preserve good and prevent evil]”[157] what need will there be for words and explanations i.e., the scriptures]![158] One will interpret [the scriptures] effortlessly. They are boats and rafts for those passing through the swamp of confusion. Teachers use them to guide people who have lost their way. Ordinarily, [scriptures are understood] as pertaining exclusively to words and explanations. According to the Perfect Teaching [i.e., the highest teaching of Mahāyāna] [*yuanzong*],[159] this is a complete misunderstanding. [The scriptures] free one from the disposition imposed by words and letters; this is liberation. It is only when one is confused about the true nature of phenomena that one focuses one’s mind outwardly to apprehend phenomena, and ends up producing [erroneous] views [expressed] in words and letters.

> [419c10] 今還將文字對治。示其真實。若悟諸法本源。即不見有文字。及絲毫發現。方知一切諸法。即心自性。則境智融通。色空俱泯。

My task here is to reexamine the function of words and letters as a countermeasure, and to demonstrate their effectiveness. If one awakens to the inherent origin of phenomena, one will not resort to viewing them in terms of words and letters, but in terms of the subtle minutiae they reveal. When one knows that phenomena are the mind’s inherent nature, the objects of consciousness and the wisdom that illuminates them will be blended together harmoniously, and phenomenal forms and emptiness will both be eliminated.

[419c13] 當此親證圓明之際。入斯一法平等之時。又有何法是教而可離。何法是祖而可重。何法是頓而可取。何法是漸而可非。則知皆是識心。橫生分別。

When one reaches the point of realizing perfect illumination oneself and arrives at the juncture where every method [for realizing illumination] is the same, then what method is there that the teaching should exclude? Which method is there that the patriarchs should emphasize? Which method is there that should be approved as "sudden"? Which method is there that should be denied as "gradual"? Consequently, we know that all of these are arbitrary distinctions produced by the discriminating consciousness.[160]

[419c16] 所以祖佛善巧。密布權門。廣備教乘。方便逗會。纔得見性。當下無心。乃藥病俱消。教觀咸息。

Therefore, the patriarchs and Buddhas are adept at secretly deploying expedient methods. The formal teachings they have supplied in great number are skillful means appropriate to particular situations. As soon as one sees one's nature, one instantly has "no mind" [i.e., is spontaneously free] [*wuxin*]. At this point, the remedy and the illness both disappear; the teaching and contemplation techniques are both discontinued.

[419c18] 如楞伽經偈云。諸天及梵乘。聲聞緣覺乘。諸佛如來乘。我說此諸乘。乃至有心轉。諸乘非究竟。若彼心滅盡無乘及乘者。無有乘建立。我說為一乘。引導眾生故。分別說諸乘。

As the verse in the *Lankavatāra sūtra* says:[161]

The vehicles of the gods and Brahman,
The vehicles of śrāvakas and pratyeka Buddhas,
The vehicles of Buddhas and thus-come ones,
The vehicles that I speak of here,
Are no more than transformations of the mind.
None of these vehicles are final.
As soon as the mind is extinguished completely,
There is no vehicle, and yet to transport one,
The vehicles of nonexistence and existence are established.
The reason I preach the one-vehicle
Is to guide sentient beings
To distinguish among the various vehicles I have preached about.

[419c22] 故先德云。一[[臣*殳]/目]在目。千華亂 空。一妄在心。恒沙生滅。除華盡。妄滅證真。病差藥除。冰融水在。神丹九轉。點

鐵成金。至理一言轉凡成聖。狂心不歇。歇即菩提。鏡淨心明。本來是佛。

That is why a former virtuous one said:[162]

For each ailment existing in the eye,
a thousand flowers are strewn through the sky.
For each error that exists in the mind,
one endures births and deaths as numerous as grains of sand.
When the ailment is eliminated, the flowers disappear.
When errors are expunged, one realizes the truth.
When the illness is determined, the remedy eliminates it.
When ice melts, water remains.
When the spirit's medicinal powder undergoes nine transformations,
the specks of powder harden to become gold.
A single statement about the ultimate principle
transforms common people into sages.
When a deranged mind goes unrestrained,
restraining it is *bodhi*.
The mirror's purifying [capacity] and the mind's illuminating [capacity]
are inherently the Buddha.

Question-and-Answer 3

[419c27] 問。如上所標。已知大意。何用向下更廣開釋。

QUESTION As you have revealed above, we already know the important significance [of *zong*]. What need is there to go on and explain it further?

[419c28] 答。上根利智。宿習生知。纔看題目宗之一字。已全入佛智海中。永斷纖疑。頓明大旨。則一言無不略盡。攝之無有遺餘。若直覽至一百卷終。乃至恒沙義趣。龍宮寶藏。鷲嶺金文。

ANSWER Those of superior capacities and keen wisdom have produced knowledge from previous training. Even by just looking at the first word of the title [of this record], *Zong,* they are completely immersed in the sea of Buddha-wisdom, forever severing the slightest of doubts, and suddenly realizing the great purpose [of Buddhist teaching]. In other words, there

is nothing that this single word does not encompass. After one apprehends this, there is nothing else besides it. If one reads [this record] straight to the end, to the one-hundredth fascicle, one will comprehend the implications [of this term], as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and the treasure storehouse [of scriptures] [kept] in the Dragon Palace,[163] and golden texts [preached by the Buddha] on Vulture Peak.[164]

[420a3] 則殊說更無異途。舒之遍周法界。以前略後廣。唯是一心。本卷末舒。皆同一際。終無異旨有隔前宗。都謂迷情妄興取捨。唯見紙墨文字。嫌卷軸多。但執寂默無言。欣為省要。皆是迷心徇境。背覺合塵。不窮動靜之本原。靡達一多之起處。

In other words, the distinctive explanations [contained in the scriptures] do not amount to different paths. When you divulge it [i.e., the teaching of *zong*], it covers the entire dharma-realm. As further elaborations of what was formerly delineated, it is simply universal mind. When the root is unfurled and the branches divulged, everything is included in the same reality. In the final analysis, there are no inappropriate doctrines [in Buddhism] that block one from access to the implicit truth [*zong*]. They all refer to [the state of] emotional confusion that recklessly leads to [feelings of] attachment or renunciation. When one only sees black words and letters on a page, one often closes the book in disgust. Obsessed with tranquility and nonoral [communication], they delight in paring the teaching down to its essentials. They thoroughly confuse their minds by acquiescing in the realm of objects. They turn their backs on awakening and are captivated by the dusty impurities [of the world]. They do not seek out the implicit origin of activity and silence. They do not try to comprehend the state where [the distinction between] the one and the many arises.

[420a8] 偏生局見。唯懼多聞。如小乘之怖法空。似波旬之難眾善。以不達諸法真實性故。隨諸相轉。墮落有無。

Stubborn students with limited views are simply frightened when they learn too much. They are like students of the lesser vehicle being apprehensive [when hearing] about the emptiness of phenomena. They are like Mara becoming distressed [when hearing] about the various good deeds. Because they do not understand the real true nature of phenomena, they are absorbed by the various transformations phenomenal forms go through and fall into the trap of [regarding them as] existent or nonexistent.

[420a10] 如大涅槃經云。若人聞說大涅槃一字一句。不作字相。不作句相。不作聞相。不作佛相。不作說相。如是義者。名無相相。

As the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* says:[165]

> If someone hears the preaching of a single word or single phrase of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and does not create the form of [i.e., objectify] the word, does not create the form of the phrase, does not create the form of hearing, does not create the form of Buddha, and does not create the form of preaching, the meaning of this kind [of understanding] is called the form of formlessness [or formless form].

> [420a13] 釋曰。若云即文字無相。是常見。若云離文字無相。是斷見。又若執有相相。亦是常見。若執無相相。亦是斷見。但亡即離斷常。四句百非。一切諸見。其旨自現。當親現入宗鏡之時。何文言識智之能詮述乎。

The commentaries say[166] that if one speaks about the formlessness of words and letters, it is eternalism. If one speaks about eliminating the formlessness of words and letters, it is annihilationism. And if one grasps the form of existing forms, it is also eternalism. If one grasps the form of formlessness, it is also annihilationism. Just forget about eliminating annihilationism and eternalism, and the meaning of all the views [expressed] in the four assertions and hundred negations will be self-evident.[167] When you are personally involved in revealing the "source" [i.e., implicit truth] and the "mirror" [of phenomena] [*zongjing*], how can they be explained entirely through knowledge and wisdom expressed in words?

> [420a17] 所以先德云。若覓經。了性真如無可聽。若覓法雞足山間問迦葉。大士持衣在此山。無情不用求專甲。斯則豈可運見聞覺知之心。作文字句義之解。若明宗達性之者。雖廣披尋。尚不見一字之相。終不作言詮之解。以迷心作物者。生斯紙墨之見耳。

Therefore, a former virtuous one said:[168]

> You cannot realize [self-] nature and true suchness by poring through scriptures. As for seeking dharma [-transmission], when [the Buddha] asked Mahākāśyapa on Mt. Cock's Foot, the great hero acquired the robe on this mountain.[169] [Mahākāśyapa] was free of passion, and [the Buddha] had no need to seek out anyone else to transmit it to. As a result, how could [Mahākāśyapa] engage his mind in [activities like] seeing and hearing, understanding and knowing, or create commentaries on the meaning of scriptural passages using words and letters? Although those who realize the implicit truthe [*zong*] and comprehend [self-] nature open the scriptures wide and investigate

> them, they do not ever objectify any of the words [contained therein] and never compose textual commentaries. Those who are confused and objectify [what is written in the scriptures], produce their views on paper in black ink.

> [420a23] 故信心銘云。六塵不惡。還同正覺。智者無為。愚人自縛。

The *Inscription on Believing Mind* [*Xinxin ming*] says:[170]

> Do not deride [the impurities of] the six senses.
> Return with them to true awakening.
> The wise act spontaneously [*wuwei*].
> Foolish people shackle themselves.

> [420a24] 如斯達者。則六塵皆是真宗。萬法無非妙理。何局於管見。而迷於大旨耶。豈知諸佛廣大境界。菩薩作用之門。所以大海龍王。置十千之問。釋迦文佛。開八萬勞生之門。普慧菩薩。申二百之疑。普賢大士答二千樂說之辯。

For those who understand as [the *Inscription on Believing Mind*] states here, [the impurities of] the six senses are all the real implicit truth [*zhenzong*]. Of the myriad phenomena there are none that are not wondrous principle. Why be confined by restricting views and be confused about the important message [of Buddhist teaching]? How will they know about the great realms of the Buddhas, or the methods that bodhisattvas actively employ? Consequently, the Dragon King of the ocean set down ten thousand questions. Śākyamuni Buddha initiated eighty thousand fatigue-producing methods. Universal Wisdom Bodhisattva resolved two hundred doubts. The great hero Samantabhādra answered two thousand challenges with his melodious speech.[171]

> [420a29] 如華嚴經普眼法門。假使有人以大海量墨。須彌聚筆。寫於此普眼法門。一品中一門。一門中一法。一法中一義。一義中一句。不得少分。何況能盡。

It is like the *Huayan jing* teaching in which each thing is endowed with all other things. It is as if someone took ink equal to the amount of water in the ocean, filled a pen the size of Mt. Sumeru, and wrote down this [*Huayan*] teaching in which each thing is endowed with all other things. There is a method in each fascicle, a teaching in each method, a meaning in each teaching, a phrase in each meaning, and not the slightest distinction between them. How on earth can one fulfill all of them?

> [420b3] 又如大涅槃經中。佛言。我所覺了一切諸法。如因大地生草木等。為諸眾生所宣說者。如手中葉。

Moreover, as the Buddha says in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* [The Sūtra of the Great Decease]:[172]

> All the teachings that I have realized are like the grass, trees, and so on, growing from the earth. What I have expounded for the sake of sentient beings is like petals in one's hand.

> [420b6] 只如已所說法。教溢龍宮。龍樹菩薩。暫看有一百洛叉。出在人間。於西天尚百分未及一。翻來東土。故不足言。豈況未所說法耶。

Basically, [the situation] is comparable to the Dharma that has already been divulged [versus that which has not]. When [Mahayana] teachings filled the Dragon Palace,[173] the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna instantly saw that there were ten million[174] [teachings] and disclosed them to human beings, but not even one one-hundredth of the [teachings] existing in the western regions were transferred here to the lands of the East.[175] Since they have not been fully disclosed here, why on earth should I refrain from elucidating the Dharma!

> [420b8] 斯乃無盡妙旨。非淺智所知。性起法門。何劣解能覽。燕雀焉測鴻鵠之志。井蛙寧識滄海之淵。如師子大哮吼。狸不能為。如香象所負擔。驢不能勝。如毘沙門寶。貧不能等。如金翅鳥飛。烏不能及。

[What I present] here is none other than the wondrous teaching that has no limit; it is not something known through superficial wisdom. Nature gave rise to Buddhist teachings.[176] How could one read the *Account of Swallows and Sparrows Fathoming the Giant Honggu Bird* with limited understanding?[177] How could a frog in a well know of the immense depths of the ocean?[178] It is like a badger not being able to produce the loud roar of a lion.[179] It is like a donkey not being able to bear the load of an elephant.[180] It is like the destitute not being able to match the wealth of Vairocāna.[181] It is like ordinary birds not being able to fly as far as the golden-winged Garuda.[182]

> [420b13] 唯依情而起見。但逐物而意移。或說有而不涉空。或言空而不該有。或談略為多外之一。或立廣為一外之多。或離默而執言。或離言而求默。或據事外之理。或著理外之事。殊不能悟此自在圓宗。

Views are conceived only through emotions. Thoughts change simply in response to external objects. Some speak of existence without even mentioning

[the subject of] emptiness. Some talk of emptiness without even touching on [the subject of] existence. Some discuss things in brief, creating unity out of external plurality. Some establish the broader view, creating external plurality out of unity. Some grasp words as if [words] were separate from silence. Some seek silence as if [silence] was separate from words. Some isolate principle from phenomena. Some isolate phenomena from principle. [People such as these] will never ever be able to awaken to this perfect teaching regarding spontaneous freedom].[183]

> [420b17] 演廣非多。此是一中之多。標略非一。此是多中之一。談空不斷。斯乃即有之空。論有不常。斯乃即空之有。或有說亦得。此即默中說。或無說亦得。此即說中默。或理事相即亦得。此理是成事之理。此事是顯理之事。或理理相即亦得。以一如無二如。真性常融會。或事事相即亦得。此全理之事。一一無礙。或理事不即亦得。以全事之理非事。所依非能依。不隱真諦故。以全理之事非理。能依非所依。不壞俗諦故。斯則存泯一際。隱顯同時。如闡普眼之法門。皆是理中之義。似舒大千之經卷。非標心外之文。

To lecture extensively on nonplurality is to affirm the plurality within unity. To explain briefly nonunity is to affirm the unity within plurality. To discuss emptiness without annihilating everything is to affirm emptiness within existence. To discuss existence without making it permanent is to affirm existence within emptiness. Sometimes it is acceptable to speak—this is when speaking is integrated with silence. Sometimes it is acceptable not to speak—this is when silence is integrated with speaking.[184] Sometimes it is acceptable for *li* and *shi* to be identical. This *li* is the *li* that creates *shi*. This *shi* is the *shi* that reveals *li*. Sometimes it is acceptable for *li* and *li* to be identical. Because the universal nature of things as they are does not allow duality, [in their] true nature [things] are constantly harmonious. Sometimes it is acceptable for *shi* and *shi* to be identical. These *shi*, which are completely [created by] *li*, are each and every one free of obstruction. Sometimes it is acceptable for *li* and *shi* not to be identical. Because *li*, which is completely [revealed by] *shi*, is not *shi*, what is depended on nullifies what is dependent, but does not conceal absolute truth. Because *shi*, which are completely [created by] *li*, are not *li*, what is dependent nullifies what is depended on but does not destroy conventional truth. This is, in other words, the universal reality of preservation and destruction, the simultaneous occurrence of concealing and revealing. It is like expanding on the teaching in which each thing is endowed with all other things,[185] the meaning of which is completely contained in *li*. Likewise, if you were to unroll the scriptures in the great unlimited dharma-realm [of a Buddha], they would be writings that explain nothing but mind.[186]

[420b28] 故經云。一法能生無量義。非聲聞緣覺之所知。

On account of this, the scriptures say:[187]

> A single dharma is able to produce infinite meanings. This is not something known by śrāvakas or pratyeka-Buddhas.

[420c1] 不同但空孤調之詮。偏枯決定之見。

Cultivating emptiness by oneself is not as good as explaining it after investigating it.[188] [The scriptures] completely destroy determinedly held views.

[420c1] 今此無盡妙旨。標一法而眷屬隨生。圓滿性宗。舉一門。而諸門普會。非純非雜。不一不多。如五味和其羹。雜綵成其繡。眾寶成其藏。百藥成其丸。邊表融通。義味周足。搜微抉妙。盡宗鏡中。

The infinite, wondrous message here is referred to as a single teaching, yet it varies according to circumstances. The school of perfect and complete nature promotes the single method [of Vairocāna], yet accommodates the methods of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.[189] It is neither pure nor tainted; neither a unity nor a plurality. It is like the five flavors combined in a stew,[190] cloths of various types forming an embroidered garment, collected valuables constituting a treasure, and the hundred types of medicine forming cinnabar. Wherever it appears it is perfectly harmonious. Its meaning is implicit everywhere. After investigating [the canon of Buddhist writings] exhaustively, I have selected the finest [passages] for inclusion in the *Records of the Source-Mirror*.

[420c6] 依正混融。因果無礙。人法無二初後同時。凡舉一門。皆能圓攝無盡法界。非內非外。不一不多。舒之則涉入重重。卷之則真門寂寂。

The dependent and proper rewards of karma merge harmoniously;[191] cause and effect are free from obstruction. There is no dichotomy between sentient beings and the Dharma; temporal sequences occur in tandem. Taken together, they promote the single method [of Vairocāna]. Taken together, they are able to perfectly accommodate [everything in] the limitless dharma-realm. [The truth documented here] is neither internal nor external, neither a unity nor a plurality. When [the *Zongjing lu*] is opened [and read], it covers all manner of subjects. When it is closed [and put away], its truth rests tranquilly.

[420c8] 如華嚴經中。師子座中。莊嚴具內。各出一佛世界塵數菩薩身雲。此是依正人法無礙。

In the *Huayan jing*,[192] lions [i.e., bodhisattvas], while seated, are endowed with solemn adornments. From each emerged a Buddha-realm whose dust spread forth a cloud in the form of a bodhisattva. This refers to the dependent and proper rewards of karma, [through which] human beings and the Dharma appear without obstruction.

> [420c10] 又如佛眉間出勝音等佛世界塵數菩薩。此是因果初後無礙。乃至刹土微塵。各各具無邊智德。毛孔身分。一一攝廣大法門。何故如是奇異難思。乃一心融即故爾。以要言之。但一切無邊差別佛事。皆不離無相真心而有。

It is comparable to the Buddha-realm of triumphant sounds, and so on, issued from the space between the eyebrows of the Buddha, the dust of which spread forth a bodhisattva [cloud].[193] This refers to the sequence of causes and effects proceeding without obstruction. And, [it is comparable to] each individual minute particle of dust of this world being endowed with infinite wisdom and virtue. Each and every hair follicle on the body projects a great dharma technique. The reason why it is so is mysterious and difficult to fathom. In other words, when universal mind is harmonious, things are as they naturally are. Cogently stated, of all the infinite number of different Buddhist activities,[194] none are separate from the formless, but still existing, true mind.

> [420c15] 如華嚴經頌云。佛住甚深真法性。寂滅無相同虛空。而於第一實義中。示現種種所行事。所作利益眾生事。皆依法性而得有。相與無相無差別。入於究竟皆無相。

As a gāthā in the *Huayan jing* says:[195]

> The Buddha abides in the very profound, true dharma-nature,
> Tranquily extinct, without form, in union with the empty void.
> And yet he remains consistent with the highest meaning of the truth,
> Displaying and revealing all manner of practices and activities.
> What he does actively benefits the circumstances of sentient beings,
> All of whom survive by depending on the dharma-nature.
> What appears through forms and what is formless are not different,
> When merged into the ultimate, everything is formless.

> [420c19] 又攝大乘論頌云。即諸三摩地。大師說為心。由心彩畫故。如所作事業。

In addition, a gāthā in the *Mahāyāna sariparigrāha sūtra* says:[196]

As for the various [states of] samādhi,
Great masters explain them in terms of mind.
On account of [the way] mind depicts the varied palette of existence,
It is like engaging in work.

[420c21] 故知。凡聖所作。真俗緣生。此一念之心。刹那起時。即具三性三無性六義。謂一念之心。是緣起法。是依他起。情計有實。即是遍計所執。體。本空寂。即是圓成。即依三性說三無性。故六義具矣。若一念心起。具斯六義。即具一切法矣。以一切真俗萬法。不出三性三無性故。

As a result, we know the [realm of] absolute and conventional truths that common people and sacred ones create is conditionally generated. It is what mind [produces] in a single thought. It arises in a flash, and is endowed with the three kinds of existence, the three kinds of nonexistence, and the six aspects of delusion.[197] It means that what mind [produces] in a single thought are phenomena generated through conditioned arising; they are what arises [through the process of] dependent origination.[198] Inferred existence is, in fact, the product of our imaginations. When the essence and root [of phenomena] are empty and tranquil, they are in the state of perfection.[199] The three kinds of nonexistence are explained in reference to the three kinds of existence. As a result, the six aspects of existence are endowed [in the mind in a single thought]. Whenever a single thought arises in the mind, it is endowed with these six aspects of existence, and endowed with all phenomena. As a result, all the myriad phenomena of the absolute and common truths are nothing other than the three kinds of existence and the three kinds of nonexistence.

[420c27] 法性論云。凡在起滅。皆非性也。起無起性故。雖起而不常。滅無滅性。雖滅而不斷。如其有性。則陷於四見之網。

The *Treatise on the Dharma-Nature* says:[200]

Everything is subject to arising and perishing; neither of these are their nature [*xing*]. Because of the nature of arising and nonarising, even though things arise they are not permanent. Because of the nature of perishing and nonperishing, even though things perish they are not annihilated. If this nature is regarded as existing, one falls into the trap of the four ways of viewing things.[201]

[420c29] 又云。尋相以推性。見諸法之無性。尋性以求相。見諸法之無相。是以性相互推。悉皆無性。是以若執有性。墮四見之邪林。若了性空。歸一心之正道。

It also says:

> When one investigates forms in order to understand nature, one sees the absence of nature in all phenomena. When one investigates nature in order to figure out forms, one sees the absence of form in all phenomena. As a result, when nature and form are understood together, everything is completely devoid of nature. As a result, if one grasps nature as existing, one falls into the forest of perversities regarding the four heterodox ways of viewing things.[202] If one understands that nature is empty, one is destined for the correct Way of universal mind.

> [421a3] 故華嚴經云。自深入無自性真實法。亦令他入無自性真實法。心得安隱。以玆妙達。

As a result, the *Huayan jing* says:[203]

> When one enters deeply the true Dharma regarding the absence of self-nature oneself, and causes others to enter the true Dharma regarding the absence of self-nature as well, mind obtains a state of calm repose.

> [421a5] 方入此宗。則物物冥真。言言契旨。若未親省。不發圓機。言之則乖宗。默之又致失。豈可以四句而取六情所知歟。但祖教並施。定慧雙照。自利利他。則無過矣。設有堅執己解。不信。佛言起自障心。絕他學路。

As soon as one enters this implicit truth [*zong*] on the basis of such wondrous discernment, phenomenal things are secretly united to what is true and words are tacitly joined to the message [of Buddhist teaching]. If one has not yet reflected on this personally and not instigated the opportunity for perfect [understanding], whatever one says will forsake the implicit truth [*zong*], and when one is engaged in silent [meditation], one will also end up confused. One is utterly deceived by the knowledge [obtained] through the four erroneous ways of viewing things and the six senses![204] When the patriarchs [of Chan] and the teachings [of doctrinal schools] are simply presented together, meditation and wisdom both shine forth. When one benefits oneself and benefits others, no transgressions are committed. Whenever one grasps onto interpretations tenaciously and does not trust in the words of the Buddha, one gives rise to a mind that hinders itself and eliminates the possibility of learning from the paths others have taken.

> [421a10] 今有十問以定紀綱。還得了了見性。如晝觀色。似文殊等不。還逢緣對境。見色聞聲。舉足下足。開眼合眼。悉得明宗。與道相應不。還覽一代時教。及從上祖師言句。聞深不怖。皆得諦了

無疑不。還因差別問難。種種徵詰。能具四辯。盡決他疑不。還於一切時一切處。智照無滯。念念圓通。不見一法能為障礙。未曾一剎那中暫令間斷不。還於一切逆順好惡境界現前之時。不為間隔。盡識得破不。還於百法明門心境之內。一一得見微細體性根原起處。不為生死根塵之所惑亂不。還向四威儀中行住坐臥。欽承祇對。著衣喫飯。執作施為之時。一一辯得真實不。還聞說有佛無佛。有眾生無眾生。或讚或毀。或是或非。得一心不動不還聞差別之智。皆能明達。性相俱通。理事無滯。無有一法不鑒其原。乃至千聖出世。得不疑不。

I now present ten questions in order to form a framework [to test your understanding].

[1] Do you thoroughly understand seeing [one's] nature, as if delineating and contemplating phenomenal forms similar to someone like Mañjuśrī?

[2] In everything you do—whether encountering situations or dealing with externals, seeing phenomenal forms or listening to sounds, raising a foot or lowering a foot, opening the eyes or closing the eyes—do you illuminate the implicit truth [*zong*] and comply with Buddhism?

[3] Do you read the teachings of each age and the statements of former patriarchs and masters, listening deeply and unafraid, completely understanding the truth in all of their teachings and not doubting it?

[4] In response to different [types of] difficult questions and all manner of trivial queries, are you able to provide [answers] according to the four kinds of eloquent responses and completely resolve the doubts that others have?[205]

[5] At all times and in all situations, does wisdom shine forth unhindered and does thought after thought pass perfectly, without encountering a single dharma that is able to cause obstruction, or being interrupted for even a single instant?

[6] In all the occasions that present themselves to you in the external realm, whether contrary or agreeable, good or bad, do you resist [the desire to] elude them [on the one hand] and are you always conscious of destroying [any attachment to] them [on the other]?

[7] Within the realm of the mind and its objects comprised of a series of one hundred dharmas,[206] do you get to see the extremely subtle essence-nature and the original point of rising of each and every [dharma], without confusing them with the circumstances of birth and death and the organs of sense and their objects?

[8] Regarding the four types of behavior—walking, standing, sitting, and lying—do you address others respectfully and exercise restraint when replying? And when wearing clothes and eating food, performing and carrying out [tasks], do you understand the true reality of each and every grade [in rank]?

[9] When listening to claims that there are Buddhas or there are no Buddhas, there are sentient beings or there are no sentient beings, do you sometimes applaud them and sometimes refute them, sometimes agree and sometime disagree, with a firm unwavering mind?

[10] When you hear about how all the different kinds of wisdom are able to clearly fathom how nature and form complement each other, how *li* and *shi* are unhindered, how nonexistence and existence are one and the same phenomena and do not reflect the origin [of phenomena] itself, and how the thousand sages appear in the world, can you avoid doubting it?

[421a26] 若實未得如是功。不可起過頭欺誑之心。生自許知足之意。直須廣披至教。博問先知。徹祖佛自性之原。到絕學無疑之地。此時方可歇學灰息遊心。或自辦則禪觀相應。或為他則方便開示。設不能遍參法界。廣究群經。但細看宗鏡之中。自然得入。此是諸法之要。趣道之門。如守母以識子。得本而知末。提綱而孔孔皆正。牽衣而縷縷俱來。又如以師子筋為琴絃。音聲一奏。一切餘絃悉皆斷壞。此宗鏡力。亦復如是。舉之而萬類沈光。顯之而諸門泯跡。以此一則。則破千途。何須苦涉關津。別生岐路。

Even if you have not actually attained merits like these,[207] you will never conceive the inclination to trespass or deceive, or form ideas of self-indulgence or satisfaction in one's knowledge. Directly avail yourself of the extensive revelations provided by the teaching, and widely inquire into what those before you knew. Penetrate the origin of self-nature [revealed by] patriarchs and Buddhas, arriving at the point of supreme mastery, free of doubt. Only at this time can you stop studying, and put an end to the wandering mind. Sometimes, practice meditation and contemplation in conjunction with each other to discern things for yourself. Sometimes, reveal expedient means for the sake of others. Even if you are not able to practice everywhere throughout the dharma-realm and extensively investigate the collection of scriptures, by just carefully reading the contents of the *[Records of the] Source-Mirror*, you will naturally gain entrance [to the truth]. Here are contained the essentials of the various teachings; they will propel you to the entrance to the Way. As a protective mother recognizes her

child, when you obtain the root you will know the branches. By the raising of the important points [in Buddhist teachings], the cracks [in one's understanding] are all rectified. By the pulling together of a garb [for Buddhist teaching],[208] the long, fine strands [of the teaching] are all joined. Moreover, it is like using the ligaments of a lion to make strings for a *qin*—the sound of the notes makes the finest performance. All other strings, excepting none, are far inferior. The power of the *[Records of the] Source-Mirror* is also comparable to this. Pick it up and everything dazzles with radiance. Open it and various teachings spout forth the traces [of the truth]. With one phrase from it, you will destroy a thousand [heterodox] pathways. What need is there to painfully traverse a difficult ford, when living apart from it on a high mountain path?

> [421b8] 所以志公歌云。六賊和光同塵。無力大難推托。內發解空無相。大乘力能翻卻。

Therefore a verse by Master Zhi [Tiantai master Nanyue Huisi] says:[209]

> The soft light of the six thieves [i.e., the six senses] is the same as the dusty impurities [of the world].

Effortlessly, the great calamities [which the six senses bring] are borne away.
> From within, one issues the understanding that emptiness has no form.
> The power of the greater vehicle is able to completely transform one.

> [421b10] 唯在玄覽得旨之時。可驗斯文究竟真實。

Whoever abides in the profound [nature of reality], when reading and understanding the message [in the *Records of the Source-Mirror*], can experience the ultimate truth [*zhenshi*] contained in this text.

Abbreviations

CBETA Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
CDL *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄
GDL *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄
GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳
N Nakamura Hajime 中村元. Ed. *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 仏教語大辭典.
QTW *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文
SGSZ *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳
T *Taisho shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經
X *Xuzang jing* 續藏經
XCDL *Xu Chuandeng lu* 續傳傳錄
XGSZ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳
XZJ *Xuzang jing* 續藏經 (Taiwan reprint edition of *Dainihon zokuzôkyô*)
ZBK *Zen bunka kenkyûjo* 禅文化研究所
ZJL *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄
ZTJ *Zutang ji* 祖堂集
ZZ Dainihon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The title of this section, as a "coming to terms with Yongming Yanshou," is indebted to Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, for its formulation.

2. Books devoted to Yanshou include Kong Weiqin, *Yongming Yanshou zongjiao lun*; Heng-ching Shih, *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*; Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*; Yi-hsuan Huang, *Integrating Chinese Buddhism*; Jan Yün-hua (Ran Yunhua), *Yongming Yanshou*; and the recent collection of essays written by mostly Chinese scholars commemorating the eleven-hundredth anniversary of Yanshou's birth in Hangzhou Foxue Yuan, ed., *Yongming Yanshou dashi yanjiu*. In addition, there is the doctoral dissertation by Wang Cuiling, *Eimei Enju no kenkyû*. While not devoted to Yanshou, there is substantial discussion of his thought in An-yi Pan, *Painting Faith*. There are also an array of articles on Yanshou and the *Zongjing lu*, too numerous to mention here, many of which can be found by perusing the bibliography.

3. Jan Yün-hua (Ran Yunhua), *Yongming Yanshou*, provides the most comprehensive assessment of the development of Yanshou's thought as exhibited in his writings. In Jan's reconstruction, the development of Yanshou's thought followed a three-stage process, beginning with the notion of mind as *weixin* 唯心 (consciousness-only), followed by an emphasis on *yixin* 一心 (universal mind), and culminating in the conception of mind as *zong* 宗 (implicit truth); see especially ibid., ch. 3, pp. 69–145. As a result, Jan considers *Weishi* philosophy an important theoretical source for Yanshou's thought (preface, p. 4).

4. For a similar view of the way Rinzai Zen rhetoric has colored the understanding of Zen (and Chan), see Jeffrey Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 1–3.

5. T 48.416b10–11.

6. I am especially indebted to the observations of the anonymous reviewers for Oxford University Press for many of the comments that follow.

7. Yanshou's borrowings from Zongmi in this regard may be outlined as follows: (1) the necessity for Chan transmitters to rely upon the sutras and treatises as the definitive standard or norm; (2) the true mind (*zhenxin* 真心) of clear and constant Knowing (*zhi* 知) as the substance of both the teachings and Chan; (3) the assumption that the inherent truth of nature (性宗) is the pinnacle of the teachings; (4) the use of the terminological pair *zong-jiao* (宗教) to denote the dichotomy between Chan and its expression in written form; (5) an attitude of all-inclusiveness accepting all Chan factions as descendent from Bodhidharma; and (6) championing the model of sudden awakening followed by gradual practice.

CHAPTER 1

1. This chapter is an edited and slightly altered version of my chapter "Yongming Yen-shou: Zen Master as Scholastic," included in Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds., *Zen Masters*, pp. 59–89.

2. "The Life of Yung-ming Yanshou: The Making of a Ch'an and Pure Land Patriarch," in *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 37–108; "Contextual Study of Chinese Buddhist Biography"; and "Yung-ming Yen-shou." In addition, Shih Heng-ching, *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism, Ch'an–Pure Land Synthesis in China*, reconstructs Yanshou's life following the literal reading of traditional sources, without sufficient regard for the circumstances and motivations of the documents in question. For an account of Yanshou's life in Chinese that incorporates much of this previous work, see Yün-hua Jan, *Yongming Yanshou* (*Yung-ming Yen-shou*), pp. 32–67.

3. While traditional dating for the Five Dynasties period is given as 907–959, I follow the dating provided by Davis, *Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, p. xliii, as better reflecting the full dynamism of the period, particularly among the Ten Kingdoms, many of which (including Wuyue) retained autonomy long after the Song dynasty was inaugurated in 960.

4. Yanshou was born in the fourth year of the *tianhou* era (904), during the reign of the Tang emperor Zhaozong. He passed away at the end of the eighth year of the *kaibao* era, on the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth day, a date that corresponds to January 29, 976, in the Western calendar.

5. Song Tiantai scholars were responsible for creating the Pure Land "school," attesting to the close identification of both during this period (on this, see Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate."

6. On Yanshou's impact on the Song dynasty Tiantai school, see Ikeda Rosan, "Eimei Enju no Tendaigaku," pp. 97–102; "Chōsō Tendaigaku no haikei," and "Eimei Enju no Kishinron kenkyū," p. 46; Ikeda notes Yanshou's influence over Song Tiantai, and argues (pp. 57–58) for the need to reevaluate Yanshou's underestimated and ignored influence over Song Tiantai figures like Zixuan 子璿 and Zhili 知禮.

7. T 50.887a–b. For a translation of Zanning's biography, see Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 193–194.

8. See Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō," p. 322.

9. On the use of tomb inscriptions as sources for Chinese Buddhist biographies, see Koichi Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies."

10. T 50.887b15–16. Arthur F. Wright, in his study of Huijiao and the GSZ, drew the same conclusion: "We are perhaps safe in assuming that as a general rule, when he mentions the existence of a memorial inscription as a biographical fact, he had access to the data it contained" ("Biography and Hagiography," p. 427).

11. *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 37–108.

12. T 50.887a29.

13. See Welter, "Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival,"

14. Regarding the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 125–210.

15. Regarding Yanshou and other Fayan faction members' Korean students, see Kan Taichi (Han Taesik), "Enju monka no Kōrei shugaku so ni tsuite," pp. 134–135; and Kan Keishu (Han Kyeongsu), "Kōrei Kōshū jidai ni ogeru zen shisō."

16. While Wuyue is noted in Buddhist circles for its patronage to the religion and Wuyue monarchs openly emulated Ashoka as their model, Ouyang Xiu, writing in the *New History of the Five Dynasties*, claims that for Wuyue monarchs "it became common to tax the people heavily to finance illicit extravagance" (*Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, Davis trans., p. 571), insinuating that the Buddhist revival in Wuyue may have been built on the tax burden extracted from the people.

17. T 50–2059.

18. T 50–2060 and 2061. The ten categories here are: translators (*yijing*), exegetes (*yijie*), meditation practitioners (*xichan*), elucidators of discipline (*minglu*), protectors of the Dharma (*hufa*), miracle workers (*gantong*), self-immolators (*yishen*), hymnists (*dusong*), promoters of blessings (*xingfu*), and miscellaneous invokers of virtue (*zake shengde*).

19. For the list of sixty-one works attributed to Yanshou and the eleven extant ones, see Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 113–118.

20. T 48–2061.958a–993c.

21. The summary here is based on Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 132–137.

22. This is not to suggest that the materials recorded in these biographies are in any way factual. In the guise of actual event, Chan biographies are actually highly dramatized portrayals of fictional episodes, set against the background of historical circumstances. Yanagida Seizan has suggested Buddhist "historical" records such as Chan transmission records are unlike other historical sources in that they are connected to literature in their composition, more akin to narrative stories in what amounts to a kind of historical fiction ("Shinzoku tōshi no keifu," p. 5).

23. Jorgensen, "'Imperial' lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," demonstrates how the original formation of Chan lineages is connected to the Confucian-inspired ancestral lineages of Tang emperors.

24. On the complex system for organizing Buddhist monasteries in the Song, see Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960–1279)."

25. Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History," pp. 524–576, shows a similar process at work in the formation of Tiantai lineages in the Song, where local records tied to specific temples were transformed into universal genealogical histories of Buddhism based on the idea of dharma-transmission.

26. The aim to create a Buddhist history with universal validity was anticipated by earlier, largely unilineal Chan records like the *Lidai fabao ji*; see Adamek, *Mystique of Transmission*.

27. The ZTJ survives only in the Korean edition contained in the woodblock edition of the Buddhist canon at Haein sa Monastery (see the bibliography for modern reproductions); Yanagida Seizan's edition has a punctuated format, with concordances.

28. For a review of what is known of Daoyuan, see Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 26–44.

29. Ishii Shūdō, "Eimei enju den," p. 78.

30. This is discussed in Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 175–186.

31. The CDL was officially adopted in 1011 after being edited and abbreviated by the leading Song scholar-bureaucrats Yang Yi, Li Wei (*jinshi* 985), and Wang Shu (963–1034). Both Daoyuan's original preface and Yang Yi's preface to the edited text are contained in Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 21–23.

32. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, and "Mahākāśyapa's Smile," pp. 75–109.

33. The CDL biography is in ch. 26 (T 51.421c6–422a20). English translations are in Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 194–198; and Chang Chung-yuan, *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism*, pp. 250–253.

34. T 51.407b5–6.

35. T 51.421c20–21.

36. T 51.421c25–29.

37. On the sources cited by Yanshou in the *Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*, see Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 121–127; an appendix (pp. 177–189) traces the sources cited.

38. The number of citations in the ZJL is based on Ishii Shūdō, "Eimei enju no chōsaku no kōsei to inyō kyōten."

39. Published Chan sources like the "Inscription on Believing Mind" (*Xinxin ming*; thirteen times), "Song of Realization" (*Zhengdao ge*; ten times), and the poems of Hanshan (ten times) were cited with slightly more frequency.

40. With slight variation, these lines appear in the context of a discussion between Huineng and Xue Jian, a palace attendant dispatched by the emperor to invite Huineng to the palace to discourse on Chan. As a result of Huineng's statement, Xue Jian is said to have achieved awakening (T 51.236a). Freedom from conceptualizing things in terms of good and evil (i.e., in moral terms) is a common theme among Chan masters; see, for example, the teaching attributed to Huangbo (see, for example, Iriya Yoshitaka, *Denshin hōyō, enryōroku*, pp. 85 and 133).

41. T 48.958c4ff.; Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 208–211.

42. T 48.961a25–26; Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, p. 213. The first line of this saying, "everything that comes into contact with one's eyes," is cited in the CDL, in a conversation recorded in the biography of Chan master Fuqing Zuanna (flourished tenth century) (T 51.356b19–20). The same line also came to be associated with the awakening of Chan master Shixiang Qingzhu (807–88), occurring in the context of a conversation with his master Daowu, also cited in the CDL (T 51.356b11).

43. T 48.961b25–26.

44. *Platform Sūtra of the sixth patriarch*, Yampolsky trans., pp. 156–157.

45. T 48.417a23.

46. See Weinstein, "Schools of Chinese Buddhism," pp. 257–265.

47. T 48.417b20–21.

48. Especially noteworthy is the influence on the contents of the ZJL of the subcommentary on the *Huayan jing* by Huayan master Chengguan (738–839), the *Yanyi chao* (T 36–1737) (see Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni oyoboshita chōkan no chōsaku no eikyō ni tsuite"). On Chengguan and his conception of Chan, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 63–68, 147–148; and Yoshizu Yoshihide, *Kegonzen no shisōteki kenkyū*. For a recent study of Chengguan's Huayan thought, expecially his notion of mind (*xin*), see Zhang Wenliang (Chō Bunryō), *Chōkan kegon shisō no kenkyū*. On Chengguan's biography, see Imre Hamar, *Religous Leader in the Tang*.

49. T 48.960b27–c2.

50. The dharma-heirs of Tiantai Deshao are acknowledged in fascicle 27, but Yanshou is not mentioned. It is possible that, as an "expanded record" (*guang lu*), the compiler Li Zunxu felt no need to mention Yanshou. This does not explain, however, the numerous instances in which masters included in the GDL had already appeared in the CDL.

51. This is the subject of Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.

52. T 51.762c14.

53. *Linjian lu* 1 (XZJ 148.294b; CBETA 87–1624.246b3–5).

54. XZJ 137.239–341, and *Lingyin sizhi* 6A.11–16.

55. See the aforementioned study by Getz, "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate."

56. It has long been assumed that the revival of Tiantai during the Song dynasty was predicated on the recovery of lost Tiantai texts from Korea and Japan at the bidding of Deshao and the Tiantai monk Xiji 羲寂. At their request, the king of Wuyue, Zhongyi, sent an envoy to Koryō to retrieve the lost texts (see the account in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖通紀, T 49.206a18–28). On the basis of the number and extent of Tiantai sources cited by Yanshou, Ikeda Rosan challenges the assumption regarding a lack of knowledge of Tiantai texts in China ("Chōsō Tendaigaku no haikei"). A recent study by Brose ("Crossing Ten-thousand *Li* of Waves") concludes that surviving textual sources provide no tangible evidence for the retrieval of Tiantai texts from Koryō; rather, surviving sources trace "a clear and singular line to Japan."

57. Takao Giken, *Sōdai bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, p. 169.

58. The records of masters exhibiting divine communication with the Pure Land are found in fascicle 5; Yanshou's record is at T 47.268b19–c6.

59. Fascicle 25 of the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra;* T 9–262), and the *Wuliangshou jing* (*Sukhāvatîvyūha sūtra*; T 12–360).

60. My account here is adapted from Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 80–81.

61. Yanshou's record is found in fascicle 3 (T 47–1969A.195a7–b4).

62. Yanshou's record is found at X 87–1612.23a4–b24.

63. Yanshou's record in the *Shimen zhongtong* is found at X 75–1513.352a16–c24; in the *Fozu tongji* at T 49.264b28–265a7.

64. See Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 121–127.

65. The following discussion is adapted from Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 149–154. For a review of Yanshou's Pure Land thought, see also Huang, *Integrating Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 106–132.

66. T 48.963b–964a. The four kinds of samādhi in the Tiantai school are (1) sitting in mediation for a period of ninety days without engaging in any other religious exercise; (2) invoking the name of Amitābha for ninety days; (3) practicing seated and ambulatory meditation for a specified period to remove bad karma; and (4) practicing meditation based on the three contemplations in which one views phenomena from three standpoints (as specified in Tiantai teaching): as empty and ultimately devoid of reality, as existing temporarily and provisionally, and as the mean (i.e., the true state of suchness).

67. T 48.964a.

68. On the seminal importance of *weixin* thought on Yanshou, see Jan Yün-hua, *Yongming Yanshou*, esp. pp. 69–145.

69. T 48.968b.

70. In terms of the application of Yanshou's teachings in practice, Jan Yün-hua (Ran Yunhua), *Yongming Yanshou*, preface, p. 3, emphasizes the importance of the method of *guanxin* 觀心. In the *Guanxin xuanshu* 觀心玄樞, for example, Yanshou considers *guanxin* the pivot of all religious practice.

71. T 48.962a.

72. Textbook accounts of Yanshou include Wu, *Golden Age of Zen*, pp. 180–181; Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 404–405; Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism, A History*, vol. 1, *India and China*, pp. 235 and 285–286; Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 2nd ser., pp. 150–151, and *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, 3rd ser., p. 20. Aperusal of current Japanese texts on Chinese Buddhism confirms the same impression.

73. The image of Yanshou as Chan–Pure Land syncretist has been given lengthy treatment by Heng-ching Shih, *The Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*.

74. T 48.966c6–8.

75. T 48.958c13–17.

76. X 59–1088.365b-–368b.

77. On the *Shou pusa jiefa bingxu*, see the comments by Tajima Tokuon in *Busho kaisatsu daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 103b. Many questions surround the compilation of the text, its title, and its content. The title given at the end of the preface, *Fanwang pusa jieyi*, for example, is different from that given in either the table of contents or at the beginning of the preface.

78. T 51.422a10–11.

79. Literally, "entering the gate of sweet dew." My translation follows the explanation of Nakamura Hajime in *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 186a.

80. The citation from the *Fanwang jing* is found in a line in a gatha (T 24.1004a20).

81. ZZ 1088.365b9–15.

82. For this line, see T 24.1004a19.

83. This is commonly attributed to Mazu Daoyi.

84. On the "Buddha-nature precepts," see *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 1194a.

85. ZZ 1088.365c5–11.

86. ZZ 1088.367c-368a.

87. Chinese Buddhist doctrine determined three ascending levels of rebirth in the Pure Land, with each level comprised of three stages or ranks, comprising nine stages in total. The lowest ranks refer to the three stages of the lowest level.

88. An-yi Pan, *Painting Faith*, p. 263. Pan also makes the same charge against Dan Getz regarding his interpretation of Xingchang's alleged affiliation with Pure Land, in Getz,"T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate."

89. *Painting Faith*, p. 262.

90. *Painting Faith*, pp. 230–231. In actual fact, as Pan notes, the three scenes depicted in the *White Lotus Society Picture* derive from "Gandhavyūha" section of the *Huayan jing (Avatāmsaka sūtra)*, detailing the spiritual journey of Sudhana as an exemplary practitioner on the bodhisattva path.

91. *Painting Faith*, p. 267. Although I have reservations about Pan's interpretation, since it is largely based on how the painting was regarded by other literati (see pp. 264–266), not on comments made by Li Gonglin himself, who had an avid interest in the *Huayan jing* from early in his life, I leave assessment of Pan's interpretation to those more qualified than myself.

92. *Painting Faith*, p. 269.

93. My work on Yanshou that Pan refers to, Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, published in 1993, was a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, completed in 1987, before the limitations of scholarship on Japanese Buddhism were made evident.

94. Following Pan's logic, the "Gandhavyūha" section of the *Huayan jing sūtra* might well be regarded as a Pure Land text, an assertion that Pan comes close to suggesting (see pp. 230–231). On this count, nearly all of Mahayana Buddhism might qualify as teaching Pure Land cultivation. As suggested before, while there is need to clarify the generally underestimated role of Pure Land cultivation in Mahayana, this should not serve as an excuse to conflate the two. I much prefer "bodhisattva cultivation" as a general term to refer to Mahayana Buddhist practice.

95. Pan, *Painting Faith*, p. 269.

96. www.cbeta.org/result/search.htm, consulted on April 22, 2009.

97. For the reference to Feixi in the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, see T 48–2017.962a29.

98. T 48. 944b25–28. In chapter 4, I will also consider Feixi's appearance in the ZJL.

99. Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, p. 131. In fascicle 9 of the *Fahua xuanyi*, Zhiyi claims that just as the *Fahua jing (Lotus sūtra)* unites the three vehicles into one, "the myriad good deeds (*wanshan*) all propel one toward *bodhi*. This refers to the teaching of *tonggui*" (T 33–1716.801b3). Slightly further on, Zhiyi confirms the association of the phrase *wanshan tonggui* with the *Lotus* (801b19 and 803b22).

100. See the previous note.

101. ZJL 17 (T 48.506a10–15).

102. T 15–653: 785b1–2.

103. Yi-hsuan Huang, *Integrating Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 131–132 and 153–159, makes an interesting observation regarding the potential evolution of Yanshou's thought toward a more sympathetic view of Pure Land practice, indicated by, among other things, the increasingly important role of the Pure Land in Yanshou's works. This is in keeping with the changes in Yanshou's career, where he went from a monastic environment on Mt. Tiantai to increasingly public and high-profile positions in the Wuyue capital. In spite of this, Huang concurs that Yanshou was consistently devoted to realizing the truth of "Mind-only" and regarded Pure Land cultivation as a decidedly inferior form of practice. Yanshou, as a result, cannot accurately be said to advocate the combined or dual practice of Chan and Pure Land, as often asserted. The most that can be said, according to Huang, is that Yanshou encouraged people to practice Chan primarily and Pure Land practices "also," which I take to mean secondarily.

104. For a full description of the images of Yanshou in these texts, see the earlier discussion in this chapter.

105. On Yang Jie's role in Northern Song Buddhist culture, see An, *Painting Faith*, pp. 22–58. On his devotion to Pure Land practice, see p. 55.

106. T 47.195b–c.

107. Pan, *Painting Faith*, p. 55.

108. T 48.415a19–21.

CHAPTER 2

1. Yi-hsun Huang, following the Song historian Huihong 惠洪 (1071–1128), suggests that it is more appropriate to say that Yanshou began compiling the *Zongjing lu* in 961, upon taking up residence at Jingci si 淨慈寺, i.e., Yongming si 永明寺 (*Integrating Chinese Buddhism*, p. 4, n. 2).

2. For a full examination of the records of Yanshou's life, see the previous chapter.

3. T 48.415b10–17.

4. T 51.407c3–4.

5. Regarding Zhongyi's role in reviving Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 186–210; on Deshao and the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō." While Zhongyi's patronage to Buddhism is well known, the Song historian Ouyang Xiu held a dissenting view of Wuyue largesse., In the *New History of the Five Dynasties,* Ouyang stipulates that

Wuyue monarchs taxed the people heavily to finance their illicit extravagance. (*Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*, Davis trans., p. 571).

6. For a brief assessment of Deshao's influence on Yanshou, see Morie Toshitaka, "Enju to Tendai Tokushō no aimi ni tsuite," pp. 154–155.

7. See, for example, Yanshou's discussion of Confucianism and Daoism in relation to Buddhism in the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (T 48.988a–b; translated in Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 229–232). See also Wang Cuiling, "Eimei Enju no sankyōkan," pp. 191–204; and Kimura Kiyotaka, "Eimei enju no rōsō kan," p.

8. Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, pp. 24–26, discusses Yanshou's indebtedness to Zongmi, considering the ZJL as essentially a restatement of Zongmi's perspective on Chan for a Song audience. On Zongmi's views on the relation between the Three Teachings, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 285–293; and *Inquiry into the Origins of Humanity*.

9. The four noble truths are: the truth of suffering (*dukha*); the cause of suffering, thirst, or craving (*tanha*); the cessation of the cause of suffering (*nirodha*); and the eightfold path (*marga*) for the release from suffering and the attaining of *nirvāṇa*. The twelve-linked chain of causation refers to ignorance, actions produced by ignorance, consciousness, mental functions and matter, the six senses, contact, perception, desire, attachment, existence, birth, old age, and death. The three miraculous powers refer to the ability of the enlightened to know all of their past lives and future lives and to destroy the effect of any latent karmic residue. The eight liberations refer to the eight kinds of meditation to free one from attachment, the culmination of which is the cessation of mental activity.

10. In addition, there were temples designated as *lu*, or vinaya establishments, but these were far fewer than the *zong* and *jiao* temples that dominated during the Song. For more detailed information and analysis of this, see Morten Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Northern Song (960–1127)."

11. Laozi 老子, *Daode jing* 道德經 ch. 4.

12. On the connection of Chan lineage formation with the tradition of veneration for imperial ancestors, see Jorgensen, "'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism."

13. Weinstein, "Schools of Chinese Buddhism." On the uses of *zong* in Chan, see Foulk, "The Ch'an Tsung in Medieval China."

14. *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 645a–b. In all, Nakamura gives seven meanings for *zong*: (1) a chief teaching or fundamental purport, truth, standpoint, or attitude; (2) ancestor or progenitor (of the myriad things); (3) the principle of the scripture(s); (4) the provisional articulation of the inexpressible truth (especially used in Chan/Zen); (5) in Buddhist theory, the main proposition (of a position); (6) a perspective on Buddhism characteristic of a particular sect; and (7) a faction.

15. ZJL 97 and 98 (T 48.937c–947b). Yanshou introduces Chan here by claiming, "The teaching of Buddhism having been made clear, I must explain the intention of the patriarchs. Those who understand the Buddha-vehicle all concur that both understand the meaning [of Buddhism]" (937c5–6).

16. For a glimpse at the larger context of debates within Chan over the notion of "a special transmission outside the scriptures," see Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an."
17. T 16–670 and T 16–681/682.
18. T 32–1666 and T 31–1585.
19. From fascicle 2 of the ZJL (T 48.427b29–c12).
20. See the *Fahua xuanyi* 2B (T 33.704c).
21. The back-to-back reference to Jiangxi and Mazu is odd, given that these are usually understood as appellations for the same person. I know of no other attribution for these terms than to Mazu Daoyi, though the dual reference here is strange. It could be that Yanshou is deriving information from different sources, retaining the names as they appeared there.
22. As an example of Yanshou's incorporation of Confucianism and Daoism, see his discussion in fascicle 3 of the *Wanshan tonggui ji* (T 48.988a3–b9).
23. T 48.416b10–11.
24. T 48.416b13–20.
25. T 48.416b6–10. The reference to White Crane's Grove seems clearly to suggest the teaching of Śākyamuni, though I have been unable to verify this.
26. T 48.416b12–13.
27. "Nature and appearance" (*xingxiang*) refer, respectively, to noumenal essence or true nature (i.e., Buddha-nature), and phenomenal forms (i.e., dharmas).
28. T 48.416b20–27.
29. On Yanshou's indebtedness to Huayan thought, see Yoshida Takashi, 吉田剛. "Yongming Yanshou zhi Huayan sixiang," pp. 512–520.
30. T 48.416b27–c2.
31. T 48.416c2–7.
32. T 48.416c6–11.
33. T 48.416c11–13. Source untraced.
34. T 48.416c13–14.
35. T 48.416c14–15.
36. The "five vehicles" refer to those teachings aimed at common people, celestial beings, śrāvakas, pratyeka-buddhas, Buddhas, and bodhisattvas.
37. T 48.416c16–19.
38. T 48.416c20–26.
39. T 48.416c26.
40. On the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, see Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*.
41. T 48. 416c26–29.
42. T 48.416c29–417a1.
43. On this metaphor, see *Mencius* 1.7.16–17.
44. T 48.417a1–3.
45. Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile," and *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.
46. T 48.417a3–7.
47. T 48.417a9–17.
48. T 48.417a19–22.

49. Although the contents of the *Zongjing lu* are arranged according to the criteria set out and divided into three sections as stipulated here, in practice there is no easy way to divide the contents thematically. Each section employs the question-and-answer framework. Each section cites liberally from Buddhist writings to serve as verification. And although there is some justification for claiming that the first section lives up to its stated goal of establishing the correct implicit truth, it is hard to deny that this aim is also being accomplished in the other sections as well.

50. T 48.417a22–25. Following the Song version of the text contained in Taishō, I read the last sentence as beginning with the character *qi* instead of *gong* (as in the Ming and Yuan versions).

51. Jeffrey Broughton prefers to translate the term *zong* 宗 as "axiom," equivalent to the Sankrit term *siddhānta*, "which has its locus classicus in the *Lankavatāra Sūtra* 楞伽經, where it refers to awakening on one's own to the axiom that is beyond words, as opposed to theory/teachings, which includes all verbal expressions of *siddhānta* in the Buddhist canon and all teaching devices" (Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, entry for *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, consulted January, 2010).

52. T 48.417a22-25.

53. In the Korean, Song version, however, section two is not said to begin until the middle of ch.61 (T 48.762c). This makes little sense given that the contents of the *Zongjing lu* are dominated by the question and answer format from the middle of fascicle 1 on.

54. T 48.924a14-16. Translation follows Broughton (see n. 51, above).

55. The list of one-hundred twenty patriarchs in the ZJL includes the seven Buddhas of the past, the twenty-seven Indian patriarchs, the six patriarchs in China, and eighty master in China. For a complete list of names, see Huang, *Integrating Chinese Buddhism*, Appendix II, pp. 400–404.

56. T 48.417b5-6.

57. In this regard Yanshou is in agreement with Zongmì and Zanning, who both championed the agreement between what the Buddhas taught and what the patriarchs transmit.

58. T 48.416a12-13.

59. T 48.416a8-9.

60. T 48.416a13-15.

61. These metaphors are actually rooted in *Zhuāngzǐ* (ch. 4): "You have heard of the knowledge that knows, but you have never heard of the knowledge that does not know"; Burton Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 58.

62. T 48.416a15–17.

63. T 48.417b7–10.

64. T 48.417b11–15.

65. The translation of the title follows Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, p. 604.

66. The *Cefu yuangui* (one thousand chapters) was compiled by Wang Qinro (962–1025), Yang Yi (974–1020), and others, by imperial order in the reign of Zhenzong. It made clear the differences in features between Tang and Song

civilizations (see Balazs and Hervouet, eds., *Sung Bibliography*, pp. 320–321). The *Taiping yulan* and *Taiping guangji* were both compiled under the supervision of Li Fang (925–966). Both are collections of stories, distinguished on the basis of whether they were deemed to be important, morally edifying, and given to inculcating principled values (*Taiping yulan*), or trivial, unedifying, and conducive to unprincipled attitudes (*Taiping guangji*). The latter is regarded as a wealth of information regarding early Chinese "fiction" and popular religious values from the period (see pp. 341–342).

67. For a comparative look at the use of the mirror as symbol in Chinese and Western thought, see Demiéville, "Le miroir spirituel."

CHAPTER 3

1. On Buddhism in the Tang, see Weinstein, *Buddhism in the T'ang*, and "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism."

2. On the chaotic conditions that characterized the late Tang, see Somers, "End of the T'ang."

3. For an overview of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, see Mote, *Imperial China*, pp. 3–30. Mote notes (p. 7): "Despite the surface appearance of unending disorder, the reality underlying this half-century is one of deep and transforming change."

4. Mote, *Imperial China*, p. 15.

5. On the revival of Buddhism in Wuyue, see Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 125–210. According to Abe (p. 130), the death of the "Daoist" Lo Yin in 909 marked a turning point in the religious interests of the founding Wuyue monarch, Qian Liu, from Daoism to Buddhism. Biographical accounts of Qian Liu in the *Wuyue beishi* and *Shiguo chunqiu* support this assertion—there is no mention of Buddhism in the historical records of Wuyue until after Lo Yin's death. On Lo Yin, see de Meyer, "Confucianism and Daoism in the Political Thought of Lo Yin."

6. T 48.417b17–19; citation from the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra;* T 16.502a–b). This is a paraphrase from Gunabhadra's (394–468) four-chapter translation of the *Lengqie jin*. Two verses there begin with the phrase "all phenomena are unborn," each with different endings: "this is not a truth [taught] in heterodox paths," and "those who are wise do not create mental conceptions."

7. For a discussion of this, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 27–33 and 45–50.

8. T 48.417b19–20. The last phrase literally reads: "truth and explanations are imparted together." Chengguan's commentary is contained in T 35–1735. The dependence of the ZJL on Chengguan's *Huayan jingshu* has been pointed out by Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni oyoboshita Chōkan no chosaku no eikyō ni tsuite."

9. T 48.417b23.

10. T 48.417b28.

11. T 48.417b29–c1. The last line is also cited in *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, Kamata Shigeo trans., *Zengen shosen shū tojo*, p. 44.

12. See, for example, the opening lines of *Xinpu zhu* (Commentary on the Mind-Verse), where these phrases are directly attributed to the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; XZJ 111.1a4).

13. *Mazu yulu*, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, p. 17. According to Iriya Yoshitaka, (p. 18n.), there are no directly corresponding statements in the *Lengqie jing)*, but he suggests that it could be a paraphrase from any number of places in the text (citing an example from ch. 5 of the ten -chapter translation; T 16.541c2–8).

14. T 48.417c2.

15. T 48.417c2–3.

16. T 48.417c3–11; citing Dushun's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin yuanyuan guan* (T 45.637b9–16).

17. The special status of Huayan teaching for Yanshou is acknowledged in ZJL 34 (T 48.614a-16–17), where Yanshou asserts that for teaching or doctrine (*jiao*), he relies on Huayan—it expresses in words the greatness of universal mind; for the implicit truth (*zong*), he relies on Bodhidharma (i.e., Chan)—who revealed directly the message about the mind-nature to sentient beings. Yanshou acknowledges his indebtedness to Zongmi for this approach. See Li Shuhua, "Eimei Enju zenji no *Sugyō* ni tsuite," p. 148; and Wang Cuiling, "Eimei Enju no zenshūkan ni tsuite," 201. Elsewhere (pp. 150–151), Li claims that the basis for Yanshou's view of Chan in the ZJL is probably based in the Tiantai meditation regimen of *zhiguan* 止觀 (cessation and contemplation). Wang points out that Huayan teaching for Yanshou is principally influenced by Chengguan and Zongmi (p. 201), while his view of "mind" (*xin*) and "true mind" (*zhenxin*) is ultimately traceable to Shenhui (p. 202).

18. Areference to the Buddhist theory of causal production or causal arising (*yuanqi*, Snkt. *pratītya-samutpāda*), which posits that all phenomena lack essential self-nature and come into existence as a result of causation.

19. T 48.417c13–14.

20. T 26.302a3, 5–11. Referred to by Yanshou simply as a *lun* (treatise), in reference to the *Fodi lun* (Treatise on Buddhahood).

21. The similarities with the *Chuanxin fayao* are apparent from its opening section (Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., *Denshin hōyō, enryōroku*, pp. 6–7):

> The Buddhas and all sentient beings are only all-encompassing mind; there is no other dharma besides this. This mind is without beginning or ending, has never been born and will never perish. It is not blue or yellow, and has no shape or form. It does not belong to [the category of] existence or nonexistence, and is not figured among the new or the old. It is neither long nor short, large nor small. It transcends all measures and designations, indications of its presence and ways of objectifying it. As for its essence, it is right here; as soon as you start to think about it, you misconstrue it. It is like the sky—it is without limitations and cannot be measured. This all-encompassing mind alone is Buddha. There is no difference whatsoever between Buddha and sentient beings. It is just that sentient beings are attached to the concept [of Buddha] and fall into error by seeking it outwardly. They use Buddha to search for Buddha, and use mind to grasp onto mind. Even if you exhaust yourselves physically for an entire aeon [in this way],

you will never be able to obtain it. You do not know that if you stop thinking and forget about conceptualizing, Buddha will appear spontaneously before you.

22. T 48.417c13–20.
23. T 48.417c20–22.
24. T 48.417c22–27.
25. T 36–1736. The passage cited is from pp. 579c–580a.
26. T 38.10a12–15.
27. T 48.418a10–12.
28. The tendency for Yanshou to rely on Huayan teaching for his theoretical framework, and Tiantai teaching to validate practice, is also evident in his *Wanshan tonggui ji*; see Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*.
29. T 48.418a13–15.
30. Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile."
31. T 48.418a15–18.
32. Yaoshan's record appears in ZTJ 4 (Yanagida ed., 1708c–1705b [ZBK ed., 168.4–184.14]), and CDL 14 (T 51.311b–312c). There is no reference in these sources to the conversation recorded here.
33. T 48.418a18–22.
34. T 48.418a25–26.
35. T 48.418a28–b2.
36. ZTJ 3.132.2–138.14; CDL 5 (T 51.242b–243c); SGSZ 8 (T 50.758c12–25, attached to the biography of Zhiwei).
37. ZTJ 3.113.6–130.1; SGSZ 9 (T 50.762b11-763b21); CDL 5 (T 51.244a–245a).
38. See the record of Huizhong's sayings (*yu*) in CDL 28 (T 51.437c–439b), especially the opening part.
39. Records pertaining to Mazu are found in QTW 715; ZTJ 14:33.2–44.1; CDL 7 (T 51.245c–246c).
40. T 48.418b1–3.
41. Mahākāśyapa through Upagupta represent Indian patriarchs one through five according to Shenhui, the *Lidai fabao ji*, and the *Tanjing*, and one through four in the *Baolin zhuan*. The *Chanyuan zhuchuan jitu* also contains the following lines here omitted in the ZJL text: As stated in Chapter Three, n. 42, these represent Indian patriarchs 1–5 according to Shenhui, the *Lidai fabao ji*, and the *Platform Sūtra* (*Tanjing*), and 1–4 according to the *Baolin zhuan*. The *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* contains a line here that is omitted in the ZJL text: "Owing to disputes in the monastic community after Dhirtaka (the patriarch following Upagupta), the monastic rules and the teachings were practiced separately. Owing to criticisms of the monarch after Buddhism reached Kashmir, the scriptures and the treatises were transmitted independently" (Kamata ed., p. 44). Dhirtaka is said to be responsible for establishing the monastic rules and sūtra teachings as independent sections of the tripitaka. When the king of Kashmir is said to have decapitated Simha bhikshu (Indian patriarch number 24), milk flowed forth instead of blood. This story is recorded in the biography of Xuanzang (in fascicle 6 of the *Fu Fazang yinyuan zhuan*; T 50–2058).

42. T 48.418b5–10. *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, Kamata Shigeo ed., *Zengen shosen shū tojo*, p. 44; Ishii Shūdō and Ogawa Takashi, "*Zengen shosen shū tojo* no yakuju kenkyū," (2), pp. 82–83.

43. T 48.418b10–11.

44. Wang Cuiling, "Eimei Enju no zenshūkan ni tsuite," p. 204. Wang characterizes Yanshou's approach to *zong* as *wakai* 和解 (conciliatory) and Zongmi's as *kankai* 勘解 (judgmental). Zongmi aimed to distinguish among Chan factions in order to establish the legitimacy of the Heze faction; Yanshou treated all of Chan as one faction. Both Dong Chun ("Yanshou dui Zongmi chanjiao ronghelun sixiangde jicheng he fazhan," pp. 67–72) and Song Daofa ("Cong Zongmide chanjiao yizhilun dao Yanshoude chanjiao ronghelun," pp. 296–307) also argue that Yanshou's approach to harmonization between Chan and Buddhist teaching represents a development from Zongmi rather than a mere adoption of Zongmi's position. On Zongmi and Yanshou, see also Ishii Shūdō, "Shūmitsu to Enju," 451–466.

45. T 48.418b13–16. As noted, the same statement is recorded in the *Mazu yulu*, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso no goroku*, p.17.

46. Yanshou also affirms Mazu's reliance on scriptural teaching a little later on in the ZJL by demonstrating further how Mazu based his teachings on scriptural references (T 48.418c5–8). While the following is not attributed directly to Mazu in the ZJL, the same statements are found in the record of Mazu's sayings the *Mazu yulu* (Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, pp. 19–21).

> The scriptures say: "Those who seek Buddhist teaching [*fa*] should not seek anything." There is no other Buddha apart from mind; there is no other mind apart from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not create evil. In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Phenomena [*fa*] have no self-nature. The triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind [*weixin*].

> The scriptures say: "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth." The physical forms which common people see are all the OK as edited? "seeing mind." Mind is not mind of itself. Mind is mind because of physical forms. Physical forms are not physical forms of themselves. Physical forms are physical forms because of mind. That is why the scriptures say: "To see physical forms is to see the mind."

47. In the ZJL, Yanshou goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate how Mazu's teaching concurs with his own, providing detailed commentary on Mazu's use of terminology, showing how it is derived from doctrines and principles central to Buddhist teaching.

48. T 48.418c10–16. Huizhong's record in CDL 5 (T 51.244b8–10) contains an abbreviated version of this passage: "Students of the Chan school must abide by the perfect teaching of the one-vehicle which the Buddha spoke of to be in tacit agreement with the original principle of one's mind. Those who do not understand it will not receive the sanction of their master. They will be like insects on the body of a lion."

49. T 48.419a2ff. The content of Dayi's conversations with masters at the capital is recorded differently in CDL 7 (T 51.253a1–23) and ZTJ 15:74.10–76.9.

50. T 48.419a8–9.

51. T 48.419a11–13. There is no mention of the material recorded here in any of the sources with records of Benjing noted above.

52. T 85.1289c. The disciples listed are Shenxiu, Zhixian, Magistrate Liu, Huizang, Xuanyue, Laoan, Faru, Huineng, Zhide, and Yifang. In addition, the name of Xuanze, compiler of the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, may be added as a disciple of Hongren.

53. T 48.419a20–24.

54. T 48.419a28.

55. T 48.419c28–420a2. Note that starting here, I deviate from the chronological presentation of the ZJL's contents, to present material contained later on in the context of question number 3. The chronological presentation resumes below.

56. T 48.420a3–8.

57. T 48.420a8–10.

58. T 48.421a8 and 9–10.

59. T 48.420a24–27; The passage cited in the ZJL (420a23–24) corresponds to *Xinxin ming* verses (T 48.376c16–17).

60. The concept expressed here is based on the doctrine of *yimen ji pumen* (*ichimon soku fumon*), which posits that all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are transformations of the Dharma-body, Vairocāna (N, 54c).

61. The five flavours (*wumi*) in classical Chinese writings correspond to the five primary "elements" (*wuxing*): earth—sweet; wood—sour; fire—bitter; metal—pungent; and salt—water.

62. T 48.420b13–17 and 420c1–5.

63. T 48.421a5–7.

64. The term *sibian* 四辯 is an abbreviation of *si wuai bian*, referring to the four kinds of unhindered, eloquent speech: (1) no obstacles in preaching the law; (2) no obstacles in understanding the meaning of the law; (3) no obstacles in communicating in various dialects; and (4) no obstacles in preaching suitable sermons to people.

65. On the doctrine of *baifa mingmen*, see the *Dacheng baifa mingmen lun* (T 31.855b-–c), which provides the list of one- hundred "dharmas" according to the Consciousness-Only School (N:. 1144d). According to *Bukkyōgo daijiten* Nakamura (N:, 1145a), *baifa mingmen* may also be understood according to its usage in the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.345b), as the first stage of a bodhisattva, the gateway of wisdom that penetrates all (literally "one- hundred") principles, all truths.

66. T 48.421a11–26.

67. Following the Song edition reading of *gong* ("merits") for *qie*.

68. The term *qianyi* 牽衣 refers to the garb of a soldier sent to the front.

69. T 48.421a26–b8.

70. The term *zongshi* ("teachers of *zong*") refers to eminent monks who combine learning and virtue to guide others, serving as models for practitioners. It is a term used especially in Chan, but may be used as a reference to patriarchal teachers

regardless of school. Yanshou's usage here is directly connected to his previous discussion concerning Chan patriarchs. The term *wuwai* (literally "outside of/external to things," translated here as "beyond physical limitations") is found in other Chan works like the *Lengqie shizi ji*, in the record of Shenxiu (Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zenshi 1*, p. 302) and the *CDL* (T 51.258b24), where it has two different meanings. In the former, it is used in association with the absolute realm where spiritual beings roam. In the latter, it occurs when Zhaozhou declares to Nanquan Puyuan: "The Way is not outside of things; outside of things there is no Way" (*dao fei wuwai* 道非物外, *wuwai fei dao* 物外非道). Yanshou's usage follows the *Lengqie shizi ji*.

71. T 48.419a29–b1.

72. Referring to Chan masters as unicorns and dragons (i.e., mythological beings with extraordinary powers) coincides to with the previous sentence's reference to them as "teachers . . . who transcend the limitations of physical objects." Tortoise shells were used for divining good and bad fortune; mirrors for determining beauty and ugliness. Together they imply a standard or framework used to assess matters correctly. Here, they refer to the methods employed by Chan masters to convey the universal teaching.

73. T 48.419b2–6.

74. T 48.419b6–10.

75. T 48.419b19–23. Different possibilities exist for the four ways of viewing things. For example, in the Huayan school viewing things in four ways means: (1) that all things are different from each other; (2) that all things are nothing but consciousness; (3) that all things are the truth itself; and (4) that all is one and one is all.

76. T 48.419c10–16.

77. T 48.419c16–18.

78. According to the title listed in Yang Jie's preface (T 48.415a5–6), he served as military protector (*huzhun*), and vice director (*yuanwai lang*) in the Ministry of Rites (*libu*). Moreover, he was senior minister (*zuo shangshu*) of Gentleman for Court Audiences (*chaojing lang*). A native of a place called *Wuwei*, he adopted the self-styled name "man of *wuwei*" (nonaction). For his biography, see *Song shi* 13102–13103. For Yang Jie's preface, see T 48.415a–b. Yang Jie was also a well-known literatus and participant in Northern Song Buddhist culture; see An-yi Pan, *Painting Faith*.

79. T 48.415a26–b4.

80. T 48.415a7.

81. T 48.415a9.

82. Araki Kengo, *Bukkyō to jukyō*.

83. Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, Heng-ching Shih, *Syncretism of Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhism*.

84. Buswell, *Tracing Back the Radiance*.

85. Cuong, "Tran Thai Tong and the *Khoa Hu Luc*," and *Zen in Medieval Vietnam*.

86. Faure, "Daruma-shū, Dōgen and Sōtō Zen."

87. Ishii Shūdō, *Dōgenzen no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū*.

88. Reihō Masunaga, *Primer of Soto Zen*, pp. 13–14.

89. Welter, "Zen Buddhism as the Ideology of the Japanese State."

90. The strength of this claim is exhibited in Yanshou's virtual absence from all contemporary discussions about Zen. On a visit a few years ago to the Institute for the Study of Zen Culture at Hanazono University in Kyoto, the leading Rinzai-affiliated institution for the study of Zen in Japan, I had this confirmed by the current director of the Institute, Professor Nishiguchi Yoshio. In conversation with him regarding Yanshou, I was informed, in a matter-of-fact manner, that the reason Zen scholars in Japan paid little attention to Yanshou was because he wasn't a Zen master. I do not fault Professor Nishiguchi for this assessment, and it was only later (of course) when I thought of the appropriate response: it wasn't that Yanshou was not a Chan/Zen master; Yanshou simply was not a Linji/Rinzai master.

91. In an analogy that is admittedly strained on scrutiny, Yanshou may be likened to the medieval Roman Catholic scholiast Thomas Aquinas, who systematically (if dryly) arranged Christian theological teachings in a manner still considered orthodox in Roman Catholic tradition. Martin Luther, as is well known, voiced major objections to how Roman Catholic doctrine was implemented to the detriment of the average Christian believer. Luther's objections parallel, in some sense, the objections of Linji faction adherents to the scholastic, doctrinal tradition of Chinese Buddhism that Yanshou represented. Protestants and Catholics may deny the validity of each other's claims—such is the nature of religious sectarianism. Historians of religion, however, try to see things more "objectively" (as unappealing as this quest is often depicted to be in recent critical theory), and this is the lesson we must draw from the study of figures like Yanshou. For historians of religion, the validity of all claims must be evaluated on their own terms and not dismissed according to a sectarian agenda. The study of Yanshou reveals that even we who respect the virtues of critical-historical scholarship often fail to understand the depths to which we are captive to the forces of religious sectarianism, the influence its scholarship has over us, the sources we look at, and the way we view those sources. In many respects, scholarship on Chinese Buddhism has moved beyond the frameworks determined by sectarianism. By turning our attention to such phenomena as self-immolation, ritual, institutional apparatuses, and material culture, we successfully avoid the "traps" sectarian interpretations hold for us. Yet there is also a need to address key figures in the tradition and wrest them from the sectarian holds they have been subjected to. In this sense, Yanshou represents more than another misunderstood Buddhist and Chan figure. He is a key to further unlocking the cages of sectarian orthodoxy into which we are unwittingly drawn. One cannot study figures like Yanshou without butting up against orthodox interpretations, and the constraints imposed by that orthodoxy, even when acknowledged, continue to hold powerful sway over our investigations and the presuppositions that guide them. What is needed in Yanshou's case is a reevaluation of his Chan teaching in terms of his own criteria. Retrieving Yanshou's Chan entails a return to the context in which it was conceived.

CHAPTER 4

1. Note that the Indian patriarchs Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹) and Aśvagosha (Maming 馬鳴) are listed independently. Verses for the seven Buddhas of the past and

entries on the twenty-seven Indian patriarchs are arranged from the beginning of fascicle 97 (T 48.937c4–939b10).

2. As one poignant example of the nearly endless list that could be cited for this exclusion, see Suzuki Tetsuo, *Chūgoku zenshū jinmei sakuin*, pp. 1–3, where the ZJL is not included in the list of sources. As a result, the names of Chan masters who appear only in the ZJL are omitted from this otherwise comprehensive and invaluable resource. Also typical of Japanese scholarly use of the ZJL is Yanagida Seizan, "Bassozen to shomondai," pp. 38–39. While Yanagida does document and assess references to Hongzhou masters in the ZJL, this is clearly done out of sectarian interests, with an aim toward supplementing information from other, more "valid" Chan sources, rather than accrediting the ZJL as a legitimate source in its own right. In contrast to this trend, mention can be made of the efforts of Ishii Shūdō, who has been conducting a seminar at Komazawa University for many years devoted to the translation and annotation of the *Zongjing lu* (Jpn. *Sūgyō roku*).

3. My figures here are a revised and refined version of Ishii Shūdō, "*Sugyōroku* ni awareta inyō kyōten, goroku no kenkyū no shiryōshū," which provides an extensive listing of all sources cited in the ZJL, including the numbers of times and general location of each citation.

4. ZJL 29 (T 48.588b11–13); trans. in McRae, *Northern School*, p. 121(c), with changes.

5. The context here suggests that the mind is being discussed, not the body; see McRae's comment, *Northern School*, p. 313, n. 40.

6. Regarding the discovery of the *Xiuxin yaolun*, see the long note in McRae, *Northern School*, pp. 309–312, n. 36.

7. Aquick glance at Ishii's chart also reveals that approximately twenty-five sources (4 percent) and fifty citations (1.5 percent) are from non-Buddhist sources (eg. Zhuangzi, Laozi, Confucius, Mencius, the Confucian classics, dynastic histories, and so on).

8. Ishii's list of Chan sources tends to be quite liberal, including citations from sources like the *Huanyuan guan* (T 45– 1876) by Fazang and the *Guanxin lun* by Zhiyi, sources by figures not normally included among the Chan ranks. To whatever extent this may be in keeping with Yanshou's intentions, it is not instructive to include them as such for the current purpose. I have removed them from the "Chan sources" column and counted them as non-Chan sources.

9. Kan Keishu (Han Kyeongsu), "Kōrei Kōshū jidai ni ogeru zen shisō," p. 80. Foku established the Foku Chan Cloister 佛窟禪院 on Mt. Tiantai, and Foku's senior disciple, Yunju Puzhi 雲居普智, propagated Niutou teaching from the Yunju Cloister 雲居院, revived through the efforts of Deshao.

10. The emphasis on the Niutou and Hongzhou factions in the ZJL has prompted Kan Keishu, "Kōrei Kōshū jidai ni ogeru zen shisō," p. 87, to mark this as a distinguishing feature of Yanshou's Chan teaching, when viewed in factional terms.

11. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 65–70.

12. Regarding the role of Mahayana sūtras in the ZJL, see Sengoku Keisho, "*Sugyōroku* ni inyōsareru daijō kyōten ni tsuite."

13. On Huayan thought in the ZJL, see Jan Yun-hua, "*Zongjing lu* zhong suojiande huayanzong sixiang."

14. In spite of Yanshou's overwhelming erudition, the ZJL is not merely an encyclopedic compendium of sources cited from elsewhere. Through a question-and-answer format, Yanshou marshals an array of sources to construct his own unique perspective; Wang Cuiling, "Eimei Enju no zenshūkan ni tsuite," p. 202.

15. There is also a Chan master An 安禪師 who appears in CDL 5 (T 48.243b9–10), as a questioner of Sikong Benjing 司空本淨, a disciple of Huineng.

16. Chan master Chou (T 48.941b28–c1), otherwise known as Sengchou 僧稠 (480–560), has a record in XGSZ 16 (T 50.553b25–555b24). See also *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 742c–d, and especially Jan Yun-hua, "Seng-ch'ou's Method of *Dhyāna*"; and Faure, *Will to Orthodoxy*, pp. 141–144. The fragment attributed to Sengchou in the ZJL (T 48.941b28–c1) is also contained among the fragments of Sengchou's teachings found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, Pelliot no. 3559 (see Jan Yün-hua, "Seng-ch'ou's Method of *Dhyāna*," pp. 52, 60, and 63 n. 36).

17. Huiman (T 48.941c5–8) was a disciple of Huike; see XGSZ 16 (T 50–2060.552c7–24, contained within the record for Huike) and CDL 3 (T 51.221b28–c13). Versions of the fragment contained in the ZJL (T 48.941c5–8) are also recorded in the XGSZ (T 50.552c19–22) and the CDL (T 51.221c10–12). On Huiman, see also John McRae, *Northern School*, pp. 23 and 28.

18. There is no indication who Chan master Fan 梵禪師 (T 48.941b11–13) was. For the following Chan masters, see the following pages in Suzuki Daisetsu, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū:* Zang 藏禪師 (T 48.941b13–15), 2:158; Yuan 緣禪師 (T 48.941b15–17), 2:156; C An 安禪師 (T 48.941b18–20) probably a disciple of Bodhidharma, 2:158; Jue 覺禪師 (T 48.941b20–23), 2:159. There is no information for Nun Yuanji 圓寂尼 (T 48.941b23–25), Chan master Rao 堯禪師 (T 48.941b25–26), Chan master Lang 朗禪師 (T 48.941b26–28), or Chan master Huici 慧慈禪師 (T 48.941c1–5).

19. A cursory look at Suzuki Tetsuo, *Chugoku zenshū jinmei sakuin,* suggests the numerous possibilities each of these names has. For example, the name An 安 is linked to thirty-six names in the CDL alone (p. 385) and to eighty-eight names in other Chan sources (pp. 1–2); the name Zang 藏 is linked to twenty-five names in the CDL (p. 445) and to thirty-six names in other Chan sources (pp. 231–232).

20. For convenience and easy access to the information, much of the annotation that follows is repetitious of the comprehensive list above.

21. Regarding Baozhi (418–514), see GSZ 10 and CDL 27.

22. Layman Pang has records in ZTJ 15 (ZBK 584.2–586.12) and CDL 8 (T 51.263b–c).

23. Hanshan has a record in CDL 27 (T 51.433c). Although a collection of poetry, *The Collected Poems of Hanshan* 寒山詩集, bears his name, he is regarded as a legendary figure by scholars.

24. Lanzan has records in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 106.8–108.1) and SGSZ 19; some of his hymns are included in CDL 30 (T 51.461b–c; his name is listed, as Mingzan, among

Puji's heirs at CDL 4: T 51.224c). The lines from the ZJL are cited in CDL 30 (T 51.461b25–27 and 461c1–3).

25. Tengteng has records in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 108.7–109.1) and is mentioned in CDL 4, in the record of Fuxian Renjian 福先仁儉 (T 51.232c); some of his hymns are included in CDL 30 (T 51.461b); the lines from the ZJL are cited, in slightly mixed order, at T 51.461b7–9 and 461b11.

26. Shi Faxi's record is in XGSZ 19 (T 50–2060.587a–588a); the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.587c12.

27. Shi Lingrun's record is in XGSZ 15 (T 50–2060.545b–547a); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.546c28–547a2 and 546b14–18.

28. Shi Fakong's record is in in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.665b); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.665b21–25.

29. Shi Tongda's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.655b–c); the lines from the ZJL are cited at T 50.655b11–12.

30. Shi Zhuanming's record is in XGSZ 25 (T 50–2060.652c–653a); except for a fragment, the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.653a2–3.

31. Shi Daoying's record is in *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 5 (T 50–2064.980b–c).

32. Shi Daoshi's record is in SGSZ 4 (T 50–2061.726c-727a); Daoshi is the compiler of the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T 53–2122).

33. Shi Zhitong's record is in XGSZ 18 (T 50–2060.577b–578a); the lines from the ZJL are at T 50.578a6–9.

34. Shi Tansui's record is in XGSZ 26 (T 50–2060.672b–c); the line from the ZJL is cited at T 50.672b29–c1.

35. Jietuo's record is in XGSZ 20 (T 50–2060.603b–c); a version of the lines from the ZJL is cited at T 50.603b24–29.

36. Although Chan master Wolun is unknown, a Dunhuang manuscript, the *Kanxin fa* 看心法, is attributed to him (see Suzuki Daisetsu, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshu*, 2:452–453).

37. Wuye has records in ZTJ 15 (ZBK 578.11–581.3) and CDL 8 (T 51.257a–b) and has sermon extracts recorded in CDL 28 (T 51.444b-445a); virtually the same lines are found scattered through these sources, see ZBK 579.8–12 and 580.12–14, T 51.257a10–15 and 257b3–7, and T 51.445a2–10.

38. Zhenjue's comments here are also recorded in the *Yongjia ji* 永嘉集 (T 48–2013.391b14–23).

39. The *Rongxin lun* is no longer extant. According to Enchin's catalogue (T55–2170.1095b5), the *Rongxin lun* was written by Great Master Hui 惠大師.

40. Zhida's name (only) is recorded among Huairang's disciples in CDL 6 (T 51.245b).

41. Pu'an's record is contained in CDL 9 (T 51.267a); the ZJL fragment is also recorded there.

42. The ZJL Linji fragment is also recorded in CDL 28; see also the *Linji lu* (T 47.497b–c).

43. Guanqi Zhixian's record is contained in ZTJ 20 (ZBK 756.14–757.13); part of the ZJL verse is recorded at ZBK 757.12–13.

44. Huangbo's words here are recorded in the *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄 (T. 48.386b); the ZJL passage corresponds, in part, to 386b3–8.

45. See CDL 8 (T 51.262c).

46. See ZTJ 5 (ZBK 182.2–185.6).

47. See ZTJ 5 (ZBK 208.7–210.10).

48. Caotang Feixi is the compiler of the nonextant *Nanyang Huizhong guoshi xingzhuang* 南陽慧忠國師行狀 (An Account of National Preceptor Huizhong of Nanyang); see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 974d), and the memorial to Chan master Chujin 楚金 (698–759), the *Chujin chanshi bei* 楚金禪師碑 (*Quan Tang wen* 916). Together with Chujin, Caotang Feixi erected Lotus altars to cultivate the Lotus Samādhi at Qianfu si 千福寺 (Thousand Blessings Monastery) outside Chang'an (Xi'an), where Huizhong was also a resident (see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 761d; on Qianfu si, see 702a–b). He also compiled a work devoted to invoking the Buddha's name, the nonextant *Nianfo sanmei baowang lun* 念佛三昧寶王論 (Treatise on the Invoking the Buddha Samādhi Treasure King; see T 55–2184.1178b17).

49. Although the ZJL clearly identifies the person here as Baizhang Huihai 百丈慧海, the reference to precipitating Guishan Lingyou's 潙山靈祐 awakening clearly involves Baizhang Huaihai, not Baizhang Huihai (see ZTJ 14: ZBK 537.3–6 and CDL 6: T51.249c–250a); the later references, as well, are to Baizhang Huaihai's *Baizhang guangyu* 百丈廣錄.

50. See ZTJ 15 and CDL 7 (T 51.253b).

51. See ZTJ 15 (ZBK 565.10–566).

52. See CDL 12 (T 51.292c).

53. See ZTJ 7 (ZBK 259–269). Jiashan's lineage is as follows: Huineng 慧能 Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 → Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 → Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 → Huating → Jiashan.

54. On Daan, see ZTJ 17 (ZBK 622–627) and CDL 9 (T51.267b–268a).

55. See ZTJ 17 (ZBK 641–653) and CDL 10 (T 51.274c–275a). Changsha's lineage is as follows: Mazu → Nanquan → Changsha.

56. Regarding Longya, see Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 122, and vol. 2. p. 519.

57. Deshan's lineage is Huineng → Qingyuan Xingsi → Shitou Xiqian → Tianhuang Daowu → Longtan → Deshan.

58. See CDL 28 (T 51.443a–b).

59. Dongshan's lineage is: Qingyuan Xingsi → Shitou Xiqian → Yaoshan Weiyan → Yunyan Tansheng → Dongshan.

60. The same citation from Lingbian appears in Yanshou's *Xinpu zhu* 2 (X 63–1231). A Chan master Nanyue Lingbian 南岳靈辯禪師 is mentioned in *Fozu tongji* 24 (T 49–2035.250d17).

61. On Yunju Daoying, see Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū* vol. 2, pp. 521–522.

62. Lineage Chart 1 does not include a number of masters who do not fit lineage-based Chan criteria or whose identities are unknown. In the former category are Chan masters like Baozhi 寶誌 (Zhigong 志公) and Hanshan 寒山. In the latter category are Futuo 伏陀, Wolun 臥輪, Great Master Ming 命大師, Gaocheng 高城, and

Lingbian 靈辯. Also not included is Caotang Feixi 草堂飛錫, a master who seems to advocate a *Lotus sūtra*–based Pure Land Chan teaching but has no distinct Chan lineage associations.

63. Yanshou's depiction of the Niutou lineage implicitly affirms the findings of modern scholars who allege that Niutou did not conceive of itself as a separate lineage until the time of its "fifth patriarch," Zhiwei (Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 40–41).

64. According to the list of thirty-four additional Niutou lineage masters in CDL 4 who were contemporaries of Foku and Yunju, it is obvious that Niutou masters were active in other parts of China as well, especially Mt. Niutou (see T 51.223c–224a).

65. Most notably, the CDL also recognized the Niutou lineage and the Northern School. On the CDL's Chan inclusiveness, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 115–160.

66. On Huiran's role as compiler of the *Linji lu*, see Welter, *"Linji lu" and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, pp. 104–105.

67. Though included in ZTJ 11 (ZBK 426.14–430.8), there is no mention of Yunmen's disciples.

68. These developments are discussed in detail in Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.

69. For Fayan and Deshao's teachings on Chan universalism, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers and Literati*, pp. 141 and 147–148.

70. Fayan Wenyi was the author of the *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (X 63–1226.36b–39a).

71. For a brief assessment of Deshao's influence on Yanshou, see Morie Toshitaka, "Enju to Tendai Tokushō no aimi ni tsuite."

72. Deshao's record is in CDL 25 (T 51.407b–410b).

73. For a discussion of Deshao's teaching in the CDL, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 144–149.

74. On Fayan Wenyi's critique of Chan factionalism, see section 2 of the *Zongmen shigui* (X 63-1226.37a19-b8); for a translation see Cleary, *Five Houses*, pp. 133–34.

CHAPTER 5

1. For a similar discussion of the value of the ZJL as a source of information regarding nonextant texts, as well as a supplement to our knowledge regarding existing sources, see Wang Cuiling, "*Sugyôroku* to shûitsu"; and Okimoto Katsumi, "*Zongjing lu* de ziliao jiazhi."

2. ZJL 97 (T 48.937c5–7). The citation is from *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*) 6 (T 9–262.50a27–29), in which "these people" refers to those who read, recite, and abide by the *Lotus sūtra* after the Buddha's passing.

3. ZJL 97 (T 48.937c8–26).

4. The verses of the first six Buddhas are found in ZTJ 1: ZBK 7.9–9.4; Śākyamuni's verses are found at ZTJ 1: ZBK 9.7–8 and 24.7. The verses in CDL 1 are found at T 51–2076.204d2–3, d10–11, 205a6–7,a13–14, a20–21, a27–28, and c1–2 (the CDL has only one of Śākyamuni's verses).

5. As Yampolsky indicates, the seven Buddhas of the past are included (but not by name, except for Śākyamuni) in the enumeration of patriarchs in the *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform sūtra*). They are also incorporated in the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, but as the first few pages of the *Baolin zhuan* are missing, we do not have details regarding the seven Buddhas of the past prior to Śākyamuni (*Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 45–46, 48, and n. 168).

6. ZJL 97 (T 48.937c26–939cc29).

7. ZTJ 1 and 2 (ZBK 27.3–62.5). CDL 1 and 2 (T 51.205c22–216b21). For a listing of the seven Buddhas of the past and the Indian patriarchs, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 70–72.

8. See *Hōrinden*, Tanaka Ryōshō annotated translation.

9. Although it would be of interest to compare explanations of the Indian patriarchs in these works, it is beyond the scope of this project.

10. ZJL 97 (T 48. 939.10–940a29).

11. ZTJ 2 (ZBK 62.6–98.13); CDL 3 and 5 (T 51.217a19–223b5 and 235b10–237a12).

12. The entry for Bodhidharma is by far the longest (T 48.939b10–c29), followed by those for Daoxin (T. 48.940a6–14), Hongren (T 48.940a14–22) and Huineng (T 48.940a22–29), which are all more or less the same length.

13. T 48.939b25–c27; the *Anxin famen* is also recorded in the *Xiaoshi liumen* (T 48–2009.370a29–c10). The *Anxin famen* is referred to elsewhere by Yanshou in the ZTJ, not by the name of the text itself, but as attributions to Bodhidharma (ZTJ 3: T 48.428b13–16 [T 48–2009.370c6–9], and compare ZTJ 12: T 48.482a11–13 [T 48–2009.370b27–28]).

14. T 48.940a10.

15. Jinhua Jia, *Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-century China*, pp. 50–51.

16. The *Shengzhou ji* was compiled between 898 and 901; the *Xu Baolin zhuan* between 907 and 910. On the *Shengzhou ji*, see Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, pp. 121–134; and Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshū shiso no kenkyū*, pp. 394–404. On the *Xu Baolin zhuan*, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, p. 66. Yanagida Seizan, "*Sodōshū* kaidai," p. 1586, hypothesizes that the *Xu Baolin zhuan* was a source for the ZTJ. According to the *Dazangjing gangmu zhiyao lu* 大藏經綱目指要録 [Annotated Essential Records of the Catalogue of the Buddhsit Canon] (2.770b), the *Baolin zhuan, Shengzhou ji*, and *Xu Baolin zhuan* were the major sources for the compilation of the CDL (as described by Jia, *Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-Century China*, pp. 51 and 146, n. 25).

17. Regarding Yaoshan Weiyan, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 83–85. Although Yaoshan is counted among Shitou's heirs in the ZTJ and CDL, he was also a student of Mazu Daoyi, and his lineage affiliation was the subject of dispute within Chan; see Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, pp. 98–99.

18. For the *Da niepan jing*, see T 7–374 and 375.

19. Regarding the assumptions implicit in what precipitates sudden awakening in Chan, it is interesting to contrast the Yaoshan episode here with the comments of

Wumen Huikai on Zhaozhou's *wu*, the first *gong'an* case recorded in the *Wumen guan*無門關 (Gateless Barrier). Wumen insists that in order to penetrate the "gateless barrier" (*wumen guan*), to go hand in hand and see eye to eye with the patriarchs (the equivalent of piercing the ox's hide), one must cut off all thought through a direct apprehension of the word *wu* (see Katsuki Sekida, *Two Zen Classics*, pp. 27–28).

20. Regarding the affliction of the eye, there is the Chinese proverb "Even though gold dust is valuable, if it falls in the eye it becomes an affliction" (金屑雖貴，落眼成翳).

21. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 102–104.

22. Baoci Xingyan's record is found in CDL 25 (T 51. 413c–414a.

23. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 115–160.

24. T 48.418b5–10; from Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuchuan jitu* (T 48–2015.400b10–16; Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, in *Zengen shosen shū tojo*, Kamata Shigeo trans., p. 44).

25. On the patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Upagupta, see chapter 3, n. 43.

26. T 48.418b10–12.

27. Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, p. 121, n. 95, notes that Mazu and his descendents through the third generation account for thirty-seven of the one hundred cases in the *Biyan lu*.

28. On Baiyan, see CDL 14 (T 51.315c–316c), where he is identified as Baiyun Mingzhe 百顏明哲. On the many problems associated with Baiyun's identity, see *Keitoku dentōroku*, trans. Sabashi Hōryū and Masunaga Reihō, vol. 1, in *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, shiden bu 14, roman numeral p. 380, n. 93.

29. For the ZTJ 4 version, see ZBK ed. 176.14–177.5; Yanagida ed. 1706:179.14–180.5. Note that characters for Baiyan's name 白顏 differ from the CDL name 柏巖, below. The ZTJ version reads as follows.

> After the master read scriptures an entire day, Baiyan asked: "Reverend, you don't allow reading scriptures. You should stop ridiculing others (for doing so)."
> The master folded up the scripture and said to Baiyan: "What time is it [literally: How does the route of the sun seem]?"
> Baiyan replied: "It is just now midday."
> The master said; "It is just the exquisite ornament (i.e., scripture) that exists."
> Baiyan replied: "Even nonexistence does not exist."
> The master said: "You are extremely intelligent."
> [Baiyan], in response, asked the master: "If I am as you say, what does this mean for you, reverend?"
> The master said: "Pull in, pull in; raise up, raise up. Totally exhausted, I fall to the ground; full of disgrace and utterly inept. How do you pass the time?"
> 師有一日看經次。白顏問。和尚休得看經。不用攤人得也。師卷卻經問白顏。日勢何似。對曰。正當午時。師曰。猶有紋綵在。對曰。無亦無。師曰。你大煞聰明。卻問師。某甲如此。和尚如何。師曰。我跛跛挈挈百醜千拙且恁麼過。

30. The passages here are highly problematic, and my translation is speculative. The question about the time of day might also be a metaphor for the time in one's life, suggesting that reading scriptures is appropriate either at certain times of the day or certain stages of one's life.

31. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, p. 78.

32. Zhaoqing Wendeng's assertion is contained in the Dunhuang manuscript *Quanzhou qianfo xinzhu zhu zushi song* (Praises for the Patriarchs and Masters, Newly Composed at Qianfo Monastery in Quanzhou), Stein no. 1635; a copy is recorded in T 85.1320c. It is discussed by Yanagida Seizan, "*Sodōshū* kaidai," pp. 1585–1586.

33. T 50.763a10–12.

34. T 55.1101a27.

35. The last sentence in this paragraph is not included in the CDL record of Nanyang Huizhong's teachings.

36. For the ZTJ version, see ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 119.10–120.10); for the CDL version, see CDL 28 (T 48.438a9–17).

37. The *Da niepan jing* (*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*; T 12.581a22–23).

38. Ibid. (T 12.533a16–17).

39. The CDL text has *dan* (only) for *zi* (yourself), i.e., "You only depend on" instead of "You yourself depend on."

40. Instead of "If things without emotion have no mind," the CDL text has "If things without emotion have no Buddha-nature."

41. See *Huayan jing* 19 (T 10.102b).

42. See the *Huayan jing* 54 (T 10.288a).

43. Information on Laoan is found in ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 108.2–6) and CDL 4 (T 51.231c1–29).

44. See Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, pp. 569–578.

45. ZJL 97 (T 48.940c9–17).

46. Reverend Zong of Mt. Song 嵩山宗和尚 here should be read as a reference to Laoan.

47. The ZTJ entry (ZBK 108.2–3; see below) confirms that it was Tanran who asked the question.

48. The text literally reads: "Why not ask about the purpose of your own house," but as Iriya Yoshitaka and Koga Hidehiko, eds., indicate, the character *jia* (house) in this context functions as a suffix with no meaning (*Zengo jiten*, p. 46a).

49. There is an editorial oversight here. Whoever compiled the text included two questions from Tanran instead of one. The second one makes the most sense in this context.

50. Laoan is identified in the CDL as National Preceptor Hui'an 慧安國師.

51. ZJL 97 (T 48.940c29–941a13).

52. Zhihuang has a record in CDL 5 (T 48.237c13–20).

53. ZTJ 3 (ZBK 129.1–14). The ZTJ contains only minor, insignificant variations.

54. CDL 5 (T 51.243c15–28).

55. On Yang Yi's potential impact on the *CDL*, see *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 175–186.

56. North of the Yellow River, contemporary Hebei.

57. *Chundong* 蠢動, literally "moving insects," is a metaphor for evil annoyances.

58. Jueduo's entries in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 128.2–13) and CDL 5 (T 48.237a13–24) provide little information beyond the episode recorded here.

59. ZJL 97 (T 48.940c16–29).

60. ZTJ 3 (ZBK 128.2–13) and CDL 5 (T 48.237a13–24). While there is greater variation in the telling of this story than in the CDL, it is essentially the same, with many shared expressions and the same point.

> 西域堀多三藏者天竺人也。東遊韶陽見六祖。於言下契悟。後遊五臺至定襄縣歷村。見一僧結庵而坐。三藏問曰。汝孤坐奚為。曰觀靜。三藏曰。觀者何人。靜者何物。其僧作禮問曰。此理何如。三藏曰。汝何不自觀自靜。彼僧茫然莫知其對。三藏曰。汝出誰門耶。曰神秀大師。三藏曰。我西域異道最下根者不墮此見。兀然空坐於道何益。其僧卻問三藏。所師何人。三藏曰。我師六祖。汝何不速往曹谿決其真要。其僧即捨庵往參六祖具陳前事。六祖垂誨與三藏符合。其僧信入。

61. On the *Wu fangbian*, see John McRae, *Northern School*, pp. 171–196; on the *Wanshan tonggui ji*, see Albert Welter, *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*.

62. ZJL 97 (T 48.940a22–29).

63. The phrase "Apart from mind, there is not a single dharma whatsoever that one can establish" is reminiscent of Huayan master Dushun's stipulation "Apart from mind, there is not a single dharma one can obtain" 心外更無一法可得, also cited by Yanshou in the ZJL (ZJL 99: T 48.952a10), from Fazang's *Huanyuan guan* (T 45–1876.640a10).

64. This is probably a general reference, but the exact citation also appears in the *Panruo xinjing zhujie* (X 26–573.949a11–12) by Dadian. The full form of the citation there is "When mind arises, all the various dharmas arise. When mind perishes, all the various dharmas perish" 生種種法生。心滅種種法滅。This fuller citation, unattributed, appears throughout Chan works, most notably Huangbo Xiyun's *Wanling lu* (T 48–2021B.386b16) and Linji Yixuan's Dialogue Records, the *Linji lu* (T 47–1985.502b8). In the CDL, it appears in Damei Fachang's entry (CDL 7: T 51.254c25–26).

65. On the dating of the Dunhuang text of the *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform Sūtra*), see Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 90–91.

66. Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth patriarch*, pp. 99–104. Yampolsky (p. 100) reconstructs the history of the Kōshōji edition as follows: the Kōshōji text was based on a "Gozan" copy of the Song printed edition of 1153; the Song (and "Gozan") edition derived from a manuscript copy dated 1031; the 1031 manuscript copy derived from Huixin's version of 967. On the different versions of the *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform Sūtra*), see also Carl Bielefeldt and Lewis Lancaster, "T'an Ching." For a revealing study of the textual history of the *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform Sūtra*) and the meaning embedded

in its evolution through different versions, see Morten Schlütter, "Transmission and Enlightenment in Chan Buddhism Seen through the Platform Sūtra."

67. Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, pp. 105–106.

68. T 48–2008.362a3–5.

69. T 48–2007.344c14–20.

70. Compare with Yampolsky's translation (*Platform Sūtra of the Sixth patriarch*, pp. 179–180). As Yampolsky notes (p. 180, nn. 279 and 280), this passage is corrupt in places and difficult to read.

71. ZJL 97 (T 48.941a25–b5).

72. This is an odd construction; the translation is tentative.

73. These lines regarding the "origin" have a vague resemblance to Dunhuang versions of the *Jueguan lun*; see Gishin Tokiwa and Yanagida Seizan, *Dialogue on the Contemplation -Extinguished*, p. 89, 4.2. Similar but also variant lines are cited by Yanshou in the *Xinpu zhu* (X 63–1231.128c9–11).

74. The translation of the title follows the suggestion of John McRae ("Ox-Head School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," pp. 209–211) that the term *guan* 觀 in the *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 not be read as "contemplation," as in the liberating insight into reality, but as the "function of perceptual cognition in general." On the *Jueguan lun*, and especially its relation to the *Baozang lun* 寶藏論 (Treatise on the Treasure Nature), see Robert Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 40–47. Niutou Farong also has records in ZTJ 3 (ZBK 99.2–103.14) and CDL 4 (T 48.225a-228b). On the Japanese scholarship on Farong, see Albert Dalia, "Social Change and the New Buddhism of South China."

75. Gishin Tokiwa and Yanagida Seizan, *Dialogue on the Contemplation Extinguished*, as summarized by Tokiwa, p. 3. On the *Jueguan lun*, also see Yanagida, "*Zekkanron* no honbun kenkyû." According to McRae, "Ox-Head School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, pp. 179–180, the Niutou lineage seems to be a product of the early eighth century, a reaction to the rising influence of Shenxiu's so-called Northern School.

76. The text of the *Jueguan lun* is reproduced in Gishin Tokiwa, and Yanagida Seizan. *Dialogue on the Contemplation-Extinguished*.

77. Yanagida Seizan (*Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, p. 147, n. 20) points out that both the Dunhuang text and the ZJL extracts (as well as the *Zhu Xinpu*, another work compiled by Yanshou that contains fragments of Farong's teachings) share common elements, suggesting the possibility that these elements all derive from Farong.

78. A point also noted by Kan Keishu (Han Kyeongsu), "Kôrei Kôshû jidai ni ogeru zen shisô," p. 87.

79. In *Monks, Rulers, and Literati* (p. 77), I suggested that the ZTJ was our earliest source for information regarding Nanyang Huizhong (specifically an ode from the *Qianfo song*, a eulogy to Chan patriarchs composed by Zhaoqing Wendeng incorporated into the ZTJ, and possibly the missing fascicle 10 of the *Baolin zhuan*). I failed to mention the importance of the ZJL Huizhong fragments at that time, as I was unaware of them. In addition to Huizhong's record in CDL 5, his teachings are also

excerpted in fascicle 28, which is probably also indebted to the record of Huizhong's "Oral Teachings" mentioned in Enchin's catalogue.

80. Though the phrase itself is not formatted as a question, the designation *wen* 問 with which it begins renders it so.

81. Manjusri is commonly depicted as wielding a sword (the sword of wisdom, or *prajna*), representing the ability of *prajna* to sever all delusions. The reference here appears to be to the *Saptasatika Prajnaparamita;* see Tribe (Dharmachari Anandajyoti), "Manjusri: Origins, Role and Significance."

82. This is described in the *Angulimala Sutta*, Thanissaro Bhikkhu trans.

83. The meaning of 非公境界 is unclear; the translation is tentative. Similar dialogues are recorded in Huizhong's entries in ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed., 116.2–5) and CDL 5 (T 51.244c22–25). In both the ZTJ and CDL, the dialogue recorded is virtually the same, alleged to have been between Huizhong and either dharma master Zilin 紫璘法師 (ZTJ) or palace attendant Zi Lin 紫璘供奉 (CDL). The ZTJ version reads as follows:

> Following Huizhong's debate with Dharma master Zilin, after each had finished at the speaker's rostrum, Zilin said: "I entreat you, Master, to establish the meaning. I will then destroy it."
>
> Huizhong said: "The reason I mounted [the rostrum] with you was to pursue the facts [of the matter]."
>
> Zilin said: "Then, I entreat you to establish the meaning."
>
> Huizhong said: "I have established the meaning."
>
> Zilin said: "What meaning did you establish?"
>
> Huizhong said: "As expected, you do not see it. It is not in the public, objectified realm 非公境界 (i.e., it is not something established through public debate)."

84. Similar ideas to the ones attributed to Huizhong here are found in the teachings of Mazu Daoyi's disciple Huihai, recorded in CDL 28 (T 51.443c7–11).

85. The word translated as "cleanses" literally means "to fumigate," or purify with smoke.

86. ZJL 1; T 48.419c6–13.

87. T 51.224a11.

88. T 54.1141a19–24.

89. Fayun's biography is included in the front matter to the *Fanyi mingyi ji* (T 54.1055b13–1056a14). The preface to the *Fanyi mingyi ji* by the lay Buddhist Zhou Dunyi of Jingqi was written in the *dingchou* year of the *shaoxing* era (1131–1162) (see T 54.1055b3–4).

90. The *Zongbao Du Chanshi yulu* (X 72.745a14–17). Zhuangyan is mentioned here in connection with his reputation for recommending to students lines from the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*, see below).

91. T 14.538a13–14. *Vimalakirti Sūtra*, Watson trans., p. 25 (with minor changes).

92. Technically, of course, the words are uttered by the elder Baoji, not the Buddha, but as they derive from a scriptural source, they are authorized as Buddha's teaching.

93. The term *mufei sheng* literally refers to a tool used for straightening wood. In this context, it implies the methods and teachings used by Buddhist teachers for ensuring correct behavior among practitioners.

94. The *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform sūtra*) declares that the *Jingang sanmei jing* (*Diamond sūtra*) is the only teaching necessary to "see into your own natures and enter into the *prajñā samâdhi*" (*Platform Sūtra*, Yampolsky trans. p. 149).

95. ZJL 15 (T 48.498c23–24); for Yampolsky's translation, see *Platform Sūtra*, p. 149.

96. See *Platform Sūtra*, Yampolsky. trans., p. 149).

97. T 48.419a29.

98. T 48.419b4–6.

99. A paraphrase of T 48.419b5–10.

100. On Sikong Benjing, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 78–79.

101. On Chan master Benjing, a direct heir of the sixth patriarch Huineng, see CDL 5 (Zhongwen ed.: 96–99; T 51.242b19–243c13); ZTJ 3 (Yanagida ed., 1714–1713 (*sic*): 132.2–138.14c; ZBK ed. 130.2–136.14); and SGSZ 8 (T 50.758c12–25, attached to the biography of Zhiwei). There is no mention in any of these sources of the material recorded here in the ZJL.

102. The *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* (T 17.913b24–25).

103. T 16.505b2–3.

104. T 14.546a23.

105. In ZTJ 3 (Yanagida ed., 1714–1713 (*sic*): 132.2–138.14c; ZBK ed. 130.2–136.14) Benjing is credited with two citings from scriptural sources. In CDL 5 (T 51.242b19–243c13) Benjing is credited with five citings from scriptures, including the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrti sūtra*).

106. Many of the prevailing assumptions regarding Mazu and the Hongzhou school have been challenged by the work of Mario Poceski; see especially *Ordinary Mind as the Way*.

107. It is important to note that the term *jiyuan wenda* to describe the phenomenon known in English as "encounter dialogue" is a modern expedient devised by Yanagida Seizan, without precedent in original Chan sources. The significance of Hongzhou and Linji faction Chan to the development of *yulu* and encounter dialogue is one of the presuppositions animating Yanagida Seizan's work on the development of Chan *yulu*, "Goroku no rekishi."

108. Works discussing the development of *yulu* that challenge this view include Jinhua Jia, *Hongzhou School of Buddhism*; my own work "*Linji lu" and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*; App, "The Making of a Chan Record"; and Poceski, "*Mazu yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings."

109. "*Linji lu" and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, especially pp. 81–108.

110. Poceski, "*Mazu yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings," and *Ordinary Mind as the Way*. Recently, Poceski has outlined a similar process in the case of records of Baizhang Huaihai's teachings, "Monastic Innovator, Iconoclast, and Teacher of Doctrine."

111. Schlutter, *How Zen Became Zen*, p. 16. Schlutter also notes how this process also related to the development of the *Liuzu tanjing* (*Platform sūtra*), the early eighth-century

version of which contains no encounter dialogues or antinomian behavior. On this, see Schlütter, "Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sûtra*." Schlütter credits David Chappell (p. 186, n. 19) as the first to note the discrepancy between the earlier and later depictions of Mazu, citing Chappell's "Hermeneutical Phases in Chinese Buddhism."

112. Similar statements are recorded in the *Mazu yulu* (XZJ 69–1321.2b18–22, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku* p. 17), and Mazu's record in CDL 6 (T 51–2076.246a5–9); for an alternate translation of this and the following passages from the ZJL, see Jia, *The Hongzhou School*, pp. 119–123.

113. On Mazu's reliance on the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*), see Ishii Kôsei, "Baso ni okeru *Ranka kyô, Ninyû sigyô ron* no iyô." Ishii (p. 109) suggests that Mazu's connection to the legacy of the sixth patriarch, Huineng, is weaker than is often supposed. Mazu, for example, never mentions the "Southern School" 南宗 or uses terms that are staples in the Southern School like "seeing one's nature" 見性 or "no-thought" 無念. Yanagida Seizan, "Basozen no shomondai" (p. 37), also suggests that Mazu's connection to Huineng (and that of Mazu's master, Huairang) is weak and represents the demands of a later age (i.e., the Linji faction).

114. ZTJ 14: 569.3–4; Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," p. 237.

115. On *yuben*, *yanjiao*, and other designations under which Chan records were collected, see Welter, "*Linji lu" and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, pp. 53–64.

116. The *Mazu yulu* exists in two forms, as part of the *Sijia yulu* (X 69–1321) and as recorded in the GDL (X 78–1553.448c7–11). The *Mazu yulu* (X 69–1321.2b18–22) version reads:

> 祖示眾云。汝等諸人。各信自心是佛。此心即佛。達磨大師。從南天竺國。來至中華。傳上乘一心之法。令汝等開悟。又引楞伽經。以印眾生心地。恐汝顛倒不信。此一心之法。各各有之。故楞伽經。以佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

The GDL (X 78–1553.448c7–11) version reads:

> 師謂眾曰。汝等諸人。各信自心是佛。此心即是佛心。達磨大師從南天竺國躬至中華。傳上乘一心之法。令汝等開悟。又引楞伽經文。以印眾生心地。恐汝顛倒。不肯自信此一心之法。各各有之。故楞伽經云。佛語心為宗。無門為法門。

117. The commentary is in ZJL 1 (T 49.418b16–c5).

118. This line appears in both a gatha in the *Da baoji jing* (T 11–310.673a7) and in Fazang's commentary to the *Qixin lun*, the *Dacheng qixinlun lunyi ji* (T 44–1846.247a27–28), where it is attributed to the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經(T 12–353).

119. The reference to "the gateway to esoteric techniques" (*zongchi men*, a Chinese translation for *dhâranî*) corresponds to "what is known internally." "Practices that bestow blessings" (*shimen*) refer especially to the practice of almsgiving, corresponding here to "what is seen externally."

120. Pan Guiming, the translator of selected sections of the ZJL into modern Chinese, punctuates the text (ZJL, Pan Guiming trans., pp. 36 and 39) so as to make the last two characters of this sentence, *jiayong* (literally "house use" or "used 'in-house'")

the title of the scripture that follows, the *Jiayong jing*. As there is no scripture bearing such a title, I have refrained from following this Pan's suggestion and have taken the cited scripture as an abbreviated reference to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (see below).

121. An abbreviated citation from the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a21–22).

122. The thirty-two distinctive marks and eighty distinctive bodily traits are auspicious signs accompanying the physical attributes of a Buddha, distinguishing him from ordinary human beings. Acommon list of the thirty-two distinctive marks includes flat soles; dharma-wheel insignia on the soles of the feet; slender fingers; tender limbs; webbed fingers and toes; round heels; long legs; slender legs like those of a deer; arms extending past the knees; a concealed penis; arm-span equal to the height of the body; light radiating from the pores; curly body hair; golden body; light radiating from the body ten feet in each direction; tender shins; legs; palms; shoulders; and neck of the same proportion; swollen armpits; a dignified body like a lion; an erect body; full shoulders; forty teeth; firm, white teeth; four white canine teeth; full cheeks like those of a lion; flavored saliva; a long, slender tongue; a beautiful voice; blue eyes; eyes resembling those of a bull; a bump between the eyes; and a bump on top of the head. These are listed in *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a); the list here is drawn from *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*, 255a (see also *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 472d–473d). The eighty distinctive bodily traits represent similarly construed, finer details of a Buddha's physical appearance. They are discussed in fascicle 2 of the *Zhang ahan jing* (T 1.12b) (*Dîrghâgama sûtra*; Pali: *Dîgha nikâya*; see *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1103c–d, *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 95b–96a).

123. The reference to the burning house is undoubtedly to the parable contained in the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*); given the context, the reference to meritorious deeds is likely to the *Fahua jing* as well. According to Iriya, *Baso goroku*, p. 195, *jia* ("house" or "family") is used in the Tang to mean "standpoint" or "viewpoint," as is used in the *Tanyu* of Shenhui.

124. The term *ruxiang* is common in Chinese Buddhism. It appears, for instance, in the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.547b22).

125. This phrase is found in Kumarajiva's translation of the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.540b24) and appears in various Chinese Buddhist commentaries: Sengzhao, *Zhu Weimojie jing* (T 38.350a25); Zhiyi, *Weimo jing lueshu*, summarized by Zhanran (T 38.619c17 and 668c15); Zhiyi, *Jinguangming jing wenju*, recorded by Guanding (T 39.51a6); Guanding, *Guanxin lun* (T 46.588b27 and 599b18); and Jizang, *Jingming xuanlun* (T 38.847a22) and *Weimo jing yishu* (T 38.940c1).

126. Aline from a verse in the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra;* T 16.480a28, 480b1 and b3). What follows in the *Lengqie jing* is, in each case, the verse "and yet one gives rise to a mind of great compassion." The line also appears in Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the (e.g., *Huayan shu*, T 35.855a19), and Zongmi's *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lueshu* (T 39.541b4).

127. ZJL 97 (T 48.940b24–26 and 28). The teaching attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi there reads:

> . . . is the true form [of the Buddha] [*shixiang*] used by members of the Buddhist faith. The scriptures say: "The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty

> distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination." They [i.e., the scriptures)] also say [i.e., the Buddha's physical body] is the blazing house of the dharma-nature, and also the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature. . . . [N]o matter what the situation, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained."

128. Lines from a verse in the *Lengqie jing* (T 16.500b17). "Contents of the mind" (*xinliang*) is another name for "mind-only" (*weixin*) (N, 770a).

129. An allusion to passages regarding the nameless (*wuming*) in the *Daode jing*.

130. Although there is no attribution to Mazu by Yanshou in the ZJL text, these lines clearly correspond to the *Mazu yulu* (X 69 2b22, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, pp. 19–21) and other sources that record Mazu's teachings, the CDL (T 51.246a9), and the GDL (X 78.448c11).

131. This is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25–26). "There is nothing to seek" is one of the four practices attributed to Bodhidharma in the "Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice" (*Erru sixing lun*). In the *Mazu yulu* and GDL, this passage is not attributed to a scripture but to Mazu himself. The *CDL* concurs with the ZJL in attributing the statement to a scriptural source.

132. The *Mazu yulu* and other sources have *shewu* (reject evil) for *zuowu* (create evil).

133. This phrase, "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth," is found in the Chan apocryphal text the *Faju jing* (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan in his lectures on the meaning of the *Huayan jing*, the *Huayan yanyi chao* (T 36.60c28–29 and 586b6–7). Elsewhere in the commentary (T 36.301b16–17), Chengguan attributes the phrase to a *Prajňāparāmita* source.

134. This is where the *Mazu yulu* and other sources end. I have attributed the following lines to Mazu, however, as best fitting the context of the ZJL.

135. The phrase is reminiscent of general Māhayāna teaching. With slight variation, it appears in the *Panruo xinjing zhujie* by Patriarch Dadian (X 26–573.949a1), suggesting that the phrase is an extrapolation of *Xin jing* [*Heart Sūtra*] teaching (see T 8.848c4–23).

136. As noted, this is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures (see note 131). Here it appears to be attributed to the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra).*

137. See note 18.

138. On this phrase, see note 133. While Yanshou acknowledges its scriptural origin, the CDL and other sources portray it as Mazu's own declaration.

139. See note 134.

140. Ishii Kôsei, "Basso ni okeru *Ranka kyô*," pp. 112–114.

141. The ZTJ and CDL fragments are found at *Mazu yulu*, X 69–1321.2b19–c1, and GDL X 78–1553.448c8–15, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, pp. 17–23.

142. The ZJL commentary is included among the appended supplementary materials not contained in the original *Mazu yulu*, Iriya Yoshitaka ed., *Baso goroku*, pp. 193–197.

143. Yanagida Seizan, "Bassozen no shomondai," p. 38b, lists four additional references, omitting the first as not a record of Mazu's teachings but a comment on them attributable to Zongmi (see below).

144. T 48.398b15–16.

145. The *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16–670.506b6). The words are spoken by a Buddha.

146. "Worldly obsessions" 世間風 more literally reads as "worldly trends."

147. It is included among the appended supplementary materials in Iriya Yoshitaka, *Baso goroku*, pp. 198–204.

148. See ZJL 97 (T 48.940b15–20; roughly the first third of the passage is very similar to what is attributed to Mazu here. This is interesting, if for no other reason than the fact that Xingsi was the alleged transmitter, through Shitou, of the rival lineage to Mazu, according to the ZTJ and CDL. There is no evidence of this material, however, in Xingsi's record in CDL 5 (T 51.240a17–c6), or in Xingsi's brief entry in ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 109.9–110.4, under the name Jingju 靖居).

149. According to Jia (*The Hongzhou School*, p. 172, n. 31), Yanagida misread this paragraph as Mazu's discourse, not Yanshou's commentary, but a close reading of Yanagida (*Goroku no rekishi*, pp. 319–21) reveals that this is not the case—Yanagida clearly reads the paragraph as Yanshou's commentary.

150. T 31–1585.

151. Little is known of the chief lecturer Liang mentioned here. He was reputedly the disciple of Nanyue Huairang. He has a brief record in CDL 8 (T 51.260a); see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 1285a.

152. This is a citation from the Tang translation of the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra;* see Iriya Yoshitaka, *Baso goroku*, p. 141n.). The full verse reads: "Mind is like the leading actor; thoughts are like the dramas it performs in. The other five consciousnesses are like companions; false thought are like spectators."

153. The translation here is tentative.

154. See Iriya Yoshitaka, *Baso goroku*, note on p. 141.

155. Versions of the encounter between Chief Lecturer Liang and Mazu are also recorded in CDL 8 (T 51.260a19–28) and the *Mazu yulu* (X 69–1321.4b24–c7). Although the wording varies in each version, both are closer to the ZJL in tone, and neither follows the more dramatically told ZTJ rendering. A commentary accompanies the ZTJ version, attesting to its use as a "case study" (ZTJ 14 [ZBK ed. 521.8–11; Yanagida ed. 1648: 40.8–11]):

> 漳南拈問僧。虚空講經。什麼人為聽衆。對云。適來暫隨喜去來。漳南云。是什麼義。云。若是別人。便教收取。漳南曰。汝也是把火之義。
>
> Zhangnan (Baofu Congzhan) raised this episode and asked a monk: "[Mazu says] emptiness lectures on the scriptures. What type of person hears it?"
>
> The monk replied: "It is heard by those currently in a state of ecstasy."
>
> Zhangnan asked: "What do you mean by this?"
>
> The monk replied: "If it were someone other than you, they would accept what I tell you."

(On the reading of this passage, see *Baso goroku*, Iriya Yoshitaka trans., p. 142 n. Koga Hidehiko, *Kunchū Sodōshū*, p. 555, translates this differently, noting that he does not understand the meaning. My rendering is also tentative.)

Zhangnan said: "You, too, have the resolve to grab hold of the flame."

(For the reading here, see Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, p. 142n.)

156. X 69–1321.4c17–18. The questioner here is identified as Layman Pang; see Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., *Baso goroku*, pp. 90–92.

157. That the conversation here is with Huairang is clear from the ZTJ (see below).

158. The ZJL text is corrupt here. Following the ZTJ, I have amended the reading from 和尚云見道 to 和尚見道.

159. ZTJ 3; ZBK ed. 142.8–143.3; Yanagida ed. 1712–1711 (*sic*): 144.8–149.3.

160. Details of Ehu Dayi's life are known from his tomb inscription by Wei Chuhou 韋處厚, *Xingfusi neidaochang gongfeng dade Dayi chanshi beiming* 興福寺內道場供奉大德大義禪師碑銘 (QTW 715), and ZTJ 15 (ZBK ed., 328–329), and CDL 7 (T 51.253a); for a summary, see Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, pp. 62–63.

161. Jinhua Chen, "One Name, Three Monks," and Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, p. 63.

162. *Weimo jing* 6 (T 14.546a23).

163. The basic Buddhist meaning of the term *fenbie* is the discriminating process through which the mind discerns objects. By implication, it includes the process of explaining, interpreting, and analyzing phenomena.

164. *Weimo jing* 1 (T 14.537c13).

165. Other versions of this conversation are recorded in the ZTJ (Yanagida ed. 1642b: 75.5–9) and CDL (Zhongwen ed.: 122.4–6). It is interesting to note that no reference to the *Weimo jing* occurs in either of these versions. Both ZTJ and CDL continue the theme with a dialogue concerning whether the four dhyanas and eight samadhis are the Way (see Yanagida ed.: 1642b: 75.9–15 and Zhongwen ed.: 122.6).

166. According to CDL, the emperor in question here is Xunzong (r. 805). It also includes a fuller context for the conversation between Dayi and Xunzong (r. 805), connecting it to a prior exchange between the emperor and Chan master Shili (a disciple of Shitou) (122.6–8).

> The Master [Dayi] also mentioned the question that Emperor Xunzong had raised with Chan master Shili, "How do sentient beings of great rank [i.e., emperors] see their nature and become a Buddha?" and Shili's reply, "Buddha-nature is like the moon in water—you can see it, but cannot obtain it." Thereupon, he [Dayi] said to the emperor: "Though Buddha-nature is unseen, one certainly sees the moon in water. Why don't you grasp it?"
>
> The emperor asked: "What is Buddha-nature?"
>
> Master [Dayi] replied: "It is not separate from your majesty's question."
>
> The emperor tacitly agreed with the true source [*zong*, i.e., he experienced awakening] and increasingly expressed his admiration and high regard [for Dayi]. (Zhongwen ed.: 122.6–8)

Another conversation involving Dayi at Dezong's court is recorded in ZTJ:

> Someone commented: "Mind exists. Through vast eons, how attached to unenlightened humans it is! Mind does not exist. In an instant, one realizes wondrous awakening."
>
> The Master [Dayi] replied: "This is just what Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty said. Nevertheless, in the case where mind exists, it is attached to existence after existence. It exists in [the state of] suffering. How can it be liberated? [In the case where] mind does not exist, who is it that realizes awakening?" (Yanagida ed.: 1642a–b: 74.14–75.3)

In addition, the CDL records conversations between Dayi and the noted proponent of Neo-Confucianism Li Ao (?–c. 841–846; *jinshi* 798)(Zhongwen ed. 121.16–122.1). On the improbability that such conversations actually occurred, see Barret, *Li Ao*.

167. T 48.419a8–9. In the ZJL, the entry on Dayi follows Mazu and Huizhong, respectively.

168. *Kunchū Sodōshū*, Koga Hidehiko et al. ed., p. 596, reads 孝文 as 考文.

169. The meaning here is unclear, and the translation tentative.

170. Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, pp. 139–140.

171. *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, p. 142.

172. *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, p. 142.

173. *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, p. 142. For a discussion of the scriptures referred to in Hongzhou Chan, see pp. 144–149.

174. Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China," p. 12.

175. For information on Huairang, see ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 140.2–143.7) and CDL 5 (T 51.240c–241a); Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 133–135. On Xingxi, see ZTJ 3 (ZBK ed. 111.9–12.4) and CDL 5 (T 51. 240a17–c6); Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, pp. 73–75.

176. ZJL 97 (T 48.940a29–b6).

177. GDL 8 (X 78–1553.448a10–15).

178. CDL 5 (T 48.241a13–19).

179. For Xingsi's records, see CDL 5 (240a17–c6) and ZTJ 3 (ZBK 109.9–110.4). The fact that Xingsi's record in ZJL 97 duplicates those attributed to Mazu in ZJL 1 is noted by Yanagida Seizan, "Shinzoku tôshi no keifu," p. 21.

180. ZJL 97 (T 48. 940b15–c9).

181. The *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16–670.506b6). The words are spoken by a Buddha.

182. Up until this point, Xingsi's entry (940b16–21) is elsewhere attributed to Mazu Daoyi (ZJL 14: T 48.492a10–27), with some variation.

183. An abbreviated citation from the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a21–22). See note 120.

184. The reference to the burning house is undoubtedly to the parable contained in the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*); given the context, the reference to meritorious deeds is likely to the *Fahua jing a* as well.

185. See the *Jingang sanmei jing* (T 9–273.368c21).

186. This is a prominent idea in the *Huayan jing*. There is no direct reference, but it appears among the *Huayan jing* records collected by Fazang in the *Huayan jing chuanji* 華嚴經傳記 (see T 51.172c9) and is elsewhere attributed to the *Huayan jing* by Yanshou (see ZJL 24;T 48.555b22–27).

187. The phrase is unfamiliar to me, and the translation uncertain.

188. See the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (T 12–375.764c3–4).

189. ZJL 14 (T 48.492a10–16); this corresponds to the portion of Xingsi's record from ZJL 97, cited above (T 48.940b16–21).

190. The *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16–670.506b6). The words are spoken by a Buddha.

191. For Xingsi, ZJL 97(T 48.940b24–26 and 28); and for Mazu Daoyi, ZJL 1 (T 48.418b25–28 and c1).

192. Jia, *The Hongzhou School*, p. 167, n. 12, claims the teachings attributed to Xingsi are not authentic and should be ascribed to Mazu on the basis of Xingsi's obscurity.

193. ZJL 98 (T 48.941c note 2). Baozhi is cited thirteen times in the ZJL (as Zhigong), at 421b, 485a, 492a, 494a, 523a, 549a, 550c, 586a, 749b, 850b, 862a, 941b, and 947b.

194. Another possibility is to link Nanyue Sida with Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓, the disciple of Huineng and the teacher of Mazu Daoyi. Both Huisi and Huairang were from Nanyue and were known as Sida heshang, or Reverend Si the Great. Given that Huairang appears elsewhere in the ZJL as Nanyue Huairang, it is unlikely that Nanyue Sida refers to him.

195. ZJL 97 (T 48.941a13–24).

196. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, pp. 139–140.

197. See *Platform Sūtra*, Yampolsky trans., sec. 13 (pp. 135–136). As Yampolsky notes (nn. 54 and 56), a nearly identical formulation to the *Platform sūtra* is found in the *Shenhui yulu* (*Shenhui heshang yiji*, Hu Shi ed. pp. 128–129.

198. See Welter, "Zanning and Chan."

199. My main source of information on Fazhao is *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 1132c–d.

200. SGSZ 21 (T 50–2061.844a8–845b4).

201. T 47–1983.

202. Acopy is recorded at T 85–2827; for Stein, Pelliot, and Beijing manuscripts of the same text, see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 571c. For a discussion about Fazhao and translation of excerpts from his writings, see Daniel Stevenson, "Visions on Maňjuśrī on Mount Wutai."

203. See the preface of CDL 4 (T 51.224a).

204. ZJL 97 (T48.941b5–10).

205. The *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16–670.506b6). The words are spoken by a Buddha. The citation of this line from the *Lengqie jin* is also attributed to Mazu Daoyi in ZJL 14 (T 48.492a12–13), noted above.

206. In ZJL 9 (T 48.460c18–26) this line (cited at 460c.22–23) is attributed to the *Hongdao guangxian dingyi jing* 弘道廣顯定意經, formally known as the *Foshuo hongdao guangxian sanmei jing* 佛說弘道廣顯三昧經 (T 15–635).

CHAPTER 6

1. Daoism was promoted as a national religion by Wang Qinro in the early Song, during the reign of Zhenzong (r. 998–1022).

2. As an example, see de Bary, *East Asian Civilizations*, who reduces the intellectual currents of Chinese and East Asian cultures to five stages: Classical Stage, Buddhist Stage, Neo-Confucian Stage, Westernization, and Marxism. The way recent developments have cast doubt on the appropriateness of "Marxism" as a definition for the last stage underscores the limitations of such reductionistic models.

3. McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China*.

4. Peter N. Gregory, "The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," introduction to Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, eds., *Buddhism in the Sung*, p. 2.

5. Among Western scholars, see Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*, pp. 2–3; Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* pp. 32–75, 300–342; Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way*, pp. 1–20; and Elman, *Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, pp. 1–65. Chinese scholars have also been calling for the distinction between Daoxue and Songxue: Deng Guangming, "Luelun Songxue," pp. 163–176; Qi Xia 漆俠, "Songxue de fazhan he yanbian," pp. 1–46; and Yang Weisheng, *Liang Song wenhua shi yanjiu*, pp. 1–25. References courtesy of Tze-ki Hon, *"Yijing" and Chinese Politics*, p. 162, n. 38.

6. Two works that stipulate this orthodoxy are the "Daoxue" chapters of the *Song shi*, 427.12718–12724, and Zhu Xi's *Yiluo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄 4–6 (Records of the Origins of the School of the Chengs); Tze-ki Hon, "*Yijing" and Chinese Politics*, pp. 11–12.

7. The opening lines of the section on the collected biographies of literary masters (*Wenyuan* 文苑) in the *Song shi* (439.12,997) characterizes this view.

8. On Liu Kai, see *Song shi* 440.13,023–13,028; and Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* pp. 162–165.

9. *Hedong xiansheng chi* (Liu Kai), *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 123.1.11b and 5.8a–9b; cited in Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* p. 164.

10. On Wang Yucheng, see *Song shi* 293.9793–9800; Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* pp. 165–166.

11. Wang Yucheng, *Xiaochu ji*, *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 124.19.266–267); Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* p. 165.

12. On Xu Xuan, see *Song shi* 441.13,044–13,049; Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* pp. 156–157; and Xu Xuan, *Xu qisheng ji*. Along with his brother, Xu Xuan completed the redaction of the *Shuowen jiezi*.

13. See Wang Yucheng's anti-Buddhist memorial to the throne, recorded in *Song shi* 293.9797.

14. A term used by Makita Tairyō, "Sannei to sono jidai," p. 105.

15. Zhiyuan, for example, believed the Three Teachings were essentially compatible and particularly favored the Doctrine of the Mean; he maintained that some Buddhists even "attacked their own teaching and honored *ru*" (Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* p. 408 n. 92, citing Jiang Yibin [Chiang I-pin], *Songdai rushi tiaohelun ji paifolun zhi yanjin*, pp. 10–12). On Zhiyuan, also see Koichi Shinohara, "Zhiyuan's Autobiographical Essay."

16. See Bol, *"This Culture of Ours,"* p. 166; Zhiyuan's farewell preface to Shuji 庶幾, in *Song Jin Yuan wenlun xuan* (T'ao Ch'iu-ying and Yu Xing (Yu Hsing), pp. 16–18.

17. T 54.254c–255a. For a fuller treatment of Zanning's position regarding *wen*, see Welter, "Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival," esp. pp. 36–47.

18. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, p. 174.

19. ZZ 78.501b16–17.

20. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.

21. Shengnian produced twelve heirs with records in the *Guangdeng lu* (GDL 16 and 17: ZZ 78.495a24–502.c8): (1) Huaizhi of the Ganming Cloister on Mt. Shou in Ruzhou, (2) Guisheng of the Guangjiao Cloister in Yexuan, Ruzhou, (3) Zhisong of the Tiefo Cloister in Xizhou, (4) Shanzhao of the Taizi Cloister of Dazhong Monastery in Fenzhou, (5) Yuncong of Mt. Guyin in Xiangzhou, (6) Zhisong of the Sanjiao Chengtian Cloister in Bingzhou, (7) Zhenhui Yuanlian of the Guanghui Cloister in Ruzhou, (8) Chan Master Mi of Mt. Huangbo in Jianmen, (9) Jenwang Chuping from Chizhou, (10) Zhimen Huihan from Suizhou, (11) Nantai Qikuang from Tanzhou, (12) Huizhao of Lumen in Xiangzhou.

22. See, for example, the summary of Diana Chen-Lin, "Zhu Xi's Views on Human Nature" and "Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian Program." According to Chen-Lin, "Zhu Xi followed Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 and incorporated the Daoist idea of a primordial state of nature. Unlike Daoists, who envision the primordial state as pristine and quiescent, Zhu Xi conceived it as active and constantly self-generating (the Great Ultimate, *taiji* 太極, has an active, *yang* 陽, and quiescent, *yin* 隱, component). In effect, Zhu Xi placed Daoist metaphysics and Confucian ethics on a continuum, arguing that Confucian principles, *li*, existed inherently within the primordial chaos, and that they in turn generated the *yang* force, leading to creation of the myriad things and the development of civilization. Regarding Zhu Xi's relation to Buddhism, the issue is far more complex. As is well known, Buddhism (Chan) affected a broad range of Zhu Xi's concepts, eg., principle, mind, and human-nature. In truth, however, Zhu grafted these to a Mencian Confucian framework, so it is better to say that Buddhist notions inspired Zhu to revitalize the Mencian interpretation of Confucianism." As examples of Buddhist influences Zhu's thought, Diana Chen-lin's convenient and insightful summary emphasizes three areas, as follows. (1) *Emphasis on being one with nature*. In Zhu Xi's definition of the "investigation of things" (*gewu* 格物), and "knowing" (*zhi* 知), he continued an emphasis on the Neo-Confucian equation between the physical universe and moral universe. The ultimate stage of knowledge, according to Zhu Xi, was the elimination of all opposition between things, self, and others. This is reminiscent of the Chan Buddhist emphasis on awakening precipitated by the ultimate breakdown of artificial barriers separating humans and the objective world. As Zhu Xi stipulates, "After exerting himself for a long time, he will one day experience a breakthrough to integral comprehension. Then the qualities of all things, whether internal or external, refined or coarse, will all be apprehended and the mind, in its whole substance and great functioning, will all be clearly manifested. This is 'things [having been] investigated.' This is the

ultimate of knowing." (2) *Emphasis on the subjective*. According to Diana Chen-Lin, the importance of "sincerity of intentions" for Zhu Xi was to render the cultivated nature identical with the natural, affective nature (human nature that experiences the outside world). Since Neo-Confucians share with Buddhists a belief that the world is how one perceives it, perception and intention are crucial. Because of the influence of Buddhism, which differentiated between reality and human subjectivity, the Neo-Confucians paid special attention to human subjectivity and affirmed its validity as repository of truth. The Mean, a central concept for Neo-Confucians, also calls for a focus on the subjective. In his annotations to the Mean, Zhu Xi differentiates between a pure mind rooted in one's innate nature and moral imperative and a mind contaminated by one's individual physical form, in a way reminiscent of Chan Buddhism. (3) *Human nature as heavenly principles*. Following Chen-Lin's analysis, Zhu Xi argued that human nature was endowed with heavenly principles; and self-cultivation meant adapting these principles to individual psychophysical beings. These principles were manifested in the mind and the heart, and exhibited through balanced expressions of human emotion. Those of nobility do not let themselves express excessive emotion. This is reminiscent of the state of equanimity achieved through Buddhist meditation.

23. On the problems with reducing Chinese Buddhism in this way, see Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*.

24. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," p. 39.

25. In addition to Araki, I have also consulted Shimada Kenji, *Shushigaku to Yōmeigaku*, for general knowledge regarding Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming thought.

26. Jiang Wu, "Literati and Chan Buddhism," ch. 2 of *Enlightenment in Dispute*.

27. Ch'ien, *Chiao Hung and the Restructuring of Neo-Confucianism*, p. 119.

28. On the Ming appetite for syncretism, see Berling, *Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*, pp. 46–61.

29. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," pp. 39–66. For a more extensive treatment, see Araki Kengo, *Bukkyō to Jukyō*.

30. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," p. 40.

31. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," pp. 40–41.

32. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," p. 41; Wade-Gile Romanization changed to pinyin. References to Zhu Xi are all taken from *Zhuzi yulei daquan*; for specific details, see p. 63, nn. 3, 4, and 5.

33. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," pp. 41–43.

34. In addition to this typology based on Araki's inclusion of Linji Chan, there are more conventional Neo-Confucian typologies, entirely exclusive of any form of Buddhist influence, like the one based on Shimada Kenji, *Shushi gaku to Yōmei gaku*, p. 162, that divides Neo-Confucianism ideologically into three types: (1) the "materialism" (*yuibutsuron* 唯物論) of Zhang Zai, based on "material force" (*qi* 氣); (2) the "objective idealism" (*kyakkan yuishinron* 客観唯心論) of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, asserting "nature is principle" (性即理); and (3) the "subjective idealism" (*shukan yuishinron* 主観唯心論) of Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming, derived from Cheng Hao, asserting "mind is nature" (心即性).

35. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," pp. 39–40.

36. Elman, *Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*.

37. Araki Kengo, "Sōgen jidai no bukkyō, dōkyō ni kansuru kenkyū kaiko," pp. 333–374.

38. See chapters 1 and 2 of Araki Kengo, "*Kegonkyō* no tetsugaku" and "*Engakukyō* no tetsugaku," respectively, in *Bukkyō to Jukyō*; the latter discusses principled approaches to Buddhism, especially those of Chengguan and Zongmi.

39. Yūki Reimon, "Shushi no haibutsusetsu ni okeru konpon dōki," pp. 1–13.

40. Araki Kengo, "Sōgen jidai no bukkyō," pp. 339–340.

41. Ikeda Eijun "Eimei Enju no shisō," pp. 86–106. Ikeda Eijun later wrote under the name Hattori Eijun. It is clear that Araki was quite aware of Yanshou's influence. Other works on Yanshou reviewed by Araki (see "Sōgen jidai no bukkyō," pp. 353–357) include Nakayama Masaaki, "Eimei Enju no kyōgaku to sono jissen"; Hattori (Ikeda) Eijun, "Zenjō yūgōshisō ni okeru jōdo no kaimei"; Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō—toku ni tendai tokushō to sono shi eimei enju ni tsuite"; and Ikeda Eijun, "Kōshu jōjiji ni okeru jōshūjya to muryōju sanbō." In addition, Araki devotes considerable space to Yanshou in his article explaining the differences between Chinese and Japanese Pure Land thought in "Chūgoku bukkyō to Shinran."

42. Araki Kengo, "Sōgen jidai no bukkyō," pp. 353–354.

43. On the factional dispute in Tiantai in the early Song, see Chih-wah Chan, "Chih-li (960–1028) and the Crises of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung."

44. On the revival of Caodong in the Song, see Morten Schlutter, "Silent Illumination, Kung-an Introspection, and the Competition for Lay Patronage in Sung Dynasty Ch'an."

45. The recent work of Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, exposes literati engagement with Buddhism during the Song period. My own work *Monks, Rulers, and Literat*, highlights the role played by literati in shaping Chan identity and in winning public support and acceptance in the early Song.

TRANSLATION

1. The translation of the title, *Zongjing lu*, as "Records of the Source-Mirror" retains the literal sense, but as Yanshou explains himself below, these are to be read as code words: *zong* is the fundamental truth implicit in all Buddhist teaching; *jing*, as mirror, is a metaphor for mind in its capacity to reflect the true nature of phenomenal existence; and *lu* are the records collected from Buddhist teaching that expose this fundamental truth. According to one preface (T 48.416b13), it was also called *Xinjing lu* 心鏡錄 (Record of the Mind-Mirror). Broughton, "Zongjing lu," translates *zong* as "axiom" (a statement or proposition regarded as self-evidently true), where I prefer "implicit truth." For the sake of simplicity, I have retained the literal rendering, with a brief parenthetical explanation.

By way of further amplification, according to the preface by Yang Jie, below, the source (zong) and mirror (jing) represent two aspects of a single reality. Zong represents the mind-teaching proclaimed by the Buddhas as the implicit truth of

Buddhism, while jing represents the reflection of zong experienced in the phenomenal world by sentient beings. The most difficult term to translate here is zong , which allows for a variety of connotations and nuances. The term originally referred to the spirit of one's clan ancestor, but its derived meaning is the central principle or teaching of a particular school. By the early Song, it acquired the meaning of the Chan school or lineage, in contrast to the term jiao , which was used to refer to doctrinal and scholastically based Buddhist schools, particularly Tiantai. On the meaning of this term, see Weinstein, "Schools of Chinese Buddhism"; Foulk, "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition"; and particularly Broughton, "Zongjing lu" *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* . Yanshou's usage implies that the principles and teachings of Chan are in harmony with those of scholastic Buddhism. This is evident from his remarks in ZJL 2 (T 48.427b29–c12): Furthermore, the scriptures say:

> The Buddha said: "In these forty-nine years, I have not added one word to the Dharma which all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future preach. As a result, I know you can arrive at the Way through the gate of universal mind. When those with superior abilities enter it directly, they will never rely on other methods. For those of average and inferior abilities who have not entered [the gate of universal mind], I have devised various paths as expedients."
>
> [Yanshou comments:] Consequently, the patriarchs and Buddhas both point to the profound ultimate of worthies and sages. Even though the name differs, the essence is the same. In other words, circumstances distinguish [their teachings] but by nature they are in harmony. The Prajñā scriptures simply speak of nonduality. The Lotus sūtra only talks of the universal vehicle. For the Vimalakīrti sūtra every circumstance is an opportunity for practice. In the Nirvāṇa sūtra everything ends in the secret storehouse. Tiantai teaching focuses exclusively on the three contemplations [sanguan]. Jiangxi proposed the essence as the truth in its entierty. For Mazu [Daoyi] mind is Buddha. Heze [Shenhui] directly pointed to knowing and seeing. Moreover, the teaching is explained in two kinds of ways. The first is through explicit explanations. The second is through implicit explanations. Explicit explanations are [contained in] sūtras like the Lankavatāra and Ghandavyūha (Miyan), and treatises like the Awakening of Faith and Consciousness-Only. Implicit explanations establish their unique character according to the implicit truth [zong] taught in individual scriptures. For example, the Vimālakīrti sūtra regards miraculousness as the implicit truth. The Diamond sūtra regards nonabiding as the implicit truth. The Avatamsaka [Huayan] sūtra regards the dharma-realm as the implicit truth. The Nirvāṇa sūtra regards Buddha-nature as the implicit truth. By relying on these one establishes a thousand pathways. All of them are different aspects of universal mind.

Hence, the term zong for Yanshou refers to the underlying or implicit truth of universal mind, which transcends sectarian bounds. Regarding the general difficulty in reading Yanshou's works, Jan Yün-hua (Ran Yunhua), preface to Yongming Yanshou, p. 1, comments on Yanshou's wide learning coupled with the implementation

of diverse styles that include poetic expression (Yanshou was an active poet), extensive citation from a wide array of sources (mostly Buddhist but including an array of non-Buddhist sources), and reliance on philosophical methods to promote Buddhist teachings and Chan principles.

2. Yang Jie (c. 1020–c. 1090) was a prominent Song official who was awarded the *jinshi* degree in 1059. "*Senior Gentleman for Court Audiences*" was a prestige title for officials of rank 7a or 7a1 (Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, hereafter Hucker, no. 318). According to Hucker (no. 5042), the term *shangshu* ("*minister*") refers to the "head of a top-level administrative agency in the central government's Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng*)." The Ministry of Personnel (*libu*) was one of the six major agencies in the Department of State Affairs (see Hucker, no. 3630). "*Military Protector*" was a prestige title for military officers (see Hucker, no. 2775).

3. Regarding Yanshou's honorific title "Wisdom-Enlightenment" (*zhijue*), see below.

4. Regarding Prince Zhongyi and his preface, see below. The Qing edition has "treasured" (*bao*) for "wrote a preface for" (*xu*) (literally, "prefaced").

5. Fayong, Yongle, and Fazhen are otherwise unknown. The Yuan edition has Fasong for Fayong.

6. Qian Chu (929–988) is the name for Prince Zhongyi, who ruled the principality of Wuyue from 949 until it was reintegrated into the Sung in 978. Wuyue was the most prosperous of the quasi-independent principalities that emerged with the decline of Tang dynastic authority in the late ninth century. Regarding Price Zhongyi's reign and his support for Buddhism, see Abe Jōichi, "Goetsu chūi-ō no bukkyō seisaku ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu" (An Examination of Wuyue Prince Zhongyi's Buddhist Policies), in *Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 186–210; Hatanaka Jōen, "Goetsu no bukkyō." For English-language accounts see Welter, "Buddhism in the Wu Yueh Kingdom," in *Meaning of Myriad Good Deeds*, pp. 26–32; and various sections of Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.

7. This phrase (*yun'er*) is a common ending in essay writing, indicating the conclusion of the passage.

8. This is the first fascicle of a one-hundred-fascicle work and, as such, represents only partially the work as a whole. The Yuan edition begins fascicle 1 here, placing the preface within it. The Song edition places the preface separately, followed by fascicle 1. The Song edition is followed here. "Wisdom-Enlightenment" (*zhijue*) is a posthumous title given Yanshou by Song emperor Taizong (r. 976–997). For a study of the biographical records of Yanshou's life, see Chapter 1. Reference to Wuyue as a "great Song principality" is in deference to Song authority, a reflection of the proclivities of the earliest known edition, issued in the Song. Yanshou himself was a Wuyue monk and product of the Buddhist revival there. His original intention was to compile a text reflective of this milieu. The Ming edition omits reference to the principality of Wuyue. The 18th eighteenth-century Qing dynasty edition adds: "Compiled by Yanshou, Chan Master Wisdom-Enlightenment, who correctly Cultivated Wondrous Perfection at the Huiri Yongming Monastery in the Song dynasty." The Huiri (wisdom-sun) Yongming (eternally illuminated) Monastery,

located in the Wuyue capital city of Qiantang (Hangzhou), was erected in 954 by Prince Zhongyi as an emblem of the Buddhist revival there. Yanshou assumed duties as chief priest there at Zhongyi's request in 961, and remained there until his death in 975. Prior to this, he had served as chief priest of the prestigious Longyin Monastery, also located in Qiantang, for one year.

9. In Buddhist theory, name and form (*mingxiang*) refer to the falsely perceived world of concrete and distinct particulars, disassociated from the true nature of phenomena (as empty, suchness, etc.). In some explanations, "name" refers more specifically to what is heard and "form" to what is seen. The main thrust of this theory is to question the validity of "knowledge" acquired through sense perceptions. This can be seen more fully in the explanation in the *Qixin lun* [Awakening of Faith] of the "six coarse aspects" (*liuzu*), which appear in conjunction with the "three subtleties," or three aspects of ignorance (*sanxi*). The six coarse aspects are: (1) the function of the fundamental consciousness producing mental discrimination; (2) the arising of pleasant and unpleasant sensations as a result of (1); (3) attachment to these sensations; (4) assigning names to these sensations (thereby imputing that they connote a real existence); (5) performing good and evil deeds as a result of one's attachment to these presumed real sensations; (6) entering the path of transmigration according to the karma thus produced.

10. The translation of *zhao* as "illumination" follows Nakamuara(N), *Bukky ō go daijiten* 725a, deriving from the *Fahua xuanyi* and the *Sijiaoyi zhu*, which refers to it as "what is seen by wisdom-intelligence" and "the ability to see."

11. According to Buddhism, the three realms that comprise the world we inhabit, samsāra.

12. The world of human existence, the four heavens of form and the four heavens of the formless world. On heavens in Buddhism, see Akira Sadakata, *Buddhist Cosmology*; translation of *Shumisen to Gokuraku*, 55–62.

13. The four evil worlds, the four continents of the human world, the six heavens of the world of desire, the seven heavens of the world of form, and the four heavens of the formless world. They are discussed in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*, chs. 4 and 25, and the *Tiantai sijiao yi* (T 46.776a).

14. I have been unable to find reference to these.

15. The "dependent" (*yi*) and "direct" (*zheng*) rewards refer to karmic rewards classified in two ways: the direct reward is one's body or physical endowment; dependent rewards are the world, country, family, etc. one is born into. Mental conception (*xiang*) refers to one of the five *skandha*, the images of objects formed in the mind as a result of sense-perceptions. The six kinds of conceptions correspond to the perceptions of the six sense faculties. In Mahayana Buddhism, particularly, these mental conceptions are regarded as imaginary constructs typically mistaken for real.

16. According to Buddhism, beings may be born in four ways: viviparous, oviparous, born of moisture, or through metamorphosis.

17. The notion of "returning to the root" (*fanben*) is a prominent Daoist metaphor that became a prominent motif in Chinese Buddhism, especially Chan.

18. The three vehicles refer to the śrāvaka, pratyeka-Buddha, and bodhisattva vehicles. The five types of endowments refer to differences in the capacities to

understand between bodhisattvas, pratyeka-Buddhas, śrāvakas, people of uncertain capacity, and those incapable of salvation (*icchantika*). The former refers to a distinction made in Tiantai teaching, the latter to a distinction in Faxiang teaching.

19. The translation of *yixing* (literally "one nature" or "universal nature") as "pure nature" follows, N, 62b.

20. The translation of *yincheng* as "formed according to causal conditions" follows N, 71b.

21. "Tasting silence" (*weijing*) is a euphemism for overindulgence in meditation and is regarded as a precept violation in bodhisattva precept manuals; see, for example, the *Pusa jieben* (T 24.1113c5–7), extracted from the *Yuqie shidilun* (T 30.519a12–14). "Profound emptiness" (*mingkong*) is a technique recommended in Tiantai teaching for increasing the power of mindfulness (*nianli*); see the *Weimo jing lueshu*, fascicle 10 (T 38–1778.709c16–17). According to Shandao, *mingkong* is an attribute exhibited by enlightened sages; see the *Chuanjing xingdao yuanwangsheng jingtu fashizhan*, fascicle 3 (T 47–1979.435b24–25). In the context used by Yanshou here, "tasting silence" and "profound emptiness" have pejorative meanings, used to refer to pretentious Chan practitioners who validate their own approach to meditation practice at the expense of all other forms of cultivation and criticize other Buddhist practitioners through the narrow lens of their own self-aggrandizement.

22. The "cauldron" here is literally an "incense burner" (*lu*).

23. These phrases are common to Chan claims to suprarational wisdom. They are reminiscent of *Zhuangzi* (fascicle 4): "You have heard of the knowledge that knows, but you have never heard of the knowledge that does not know." *Chuang Tzu*, trans., Watson, p. 58.

24. A reference to a well-known metaphor in Chan lore, designed to distinguish among different levels of understanding, from superficial to profound. Picking out the marrow represents profound understanding. The renditions of the Chan story involving Bodhidharma and his disciples are collected in Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, and analyzed by Ishii Shūdō, *Sōdai zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 105–122.

25. The seven kinds of arrogance (*qiman*) are: pride, undue estimate of oneself, conceit, egotism, haughtiness, pride of thinking oneself superior, and arrogance.

26. Another name for the six kinds of defilements (*liuchen*) produced from the objects of cognition corresponding to the six sense-organs.

27. Presumably referring to an ox ritually slaughtered for sacrifice.

28. A metaphorical expression indicating the grasping of the essence of something.

29. Literally the "nine transformations" (*jiuzhuan*), referring to the nine times that cinnabar is refined by hermits to form the concoction ingested for prolonging life and seeking immortality.

30. The dharma-nature (*faxing*) refers to the real nature of the phenomenal world and the original state of phenomena. It is described variously in different schools of Buddhist teaching. In the Weishi (Yogacāra/Vijñānavāda) school, it refers to the unchanging reality underlying all transitory phenomena (*tathātā*). In Sanlun

(Madhyamika), it is another name for emptiness (*śunyatā*). In Huayan, it is *tathātā*, which develops into the phenomenal world. According to Tiantai, it has both pure and defiled aspects. In the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*), it is rendered as "spontaneity."

31. A possible reference to the custom of lighting lanterns for deceased ancestors on the New Year's Festival of the Dead, or perhaps to the phosphorescent glow emitted from the decaying bones and fluids of the deceased witnessed at cemeteries, mistakenly identified with unrequited spirits. On the latter possibility, see the *Xiangshan yelu* 3.5a–b, where the Buddhist monk Zanning provides a naturalistic explanation for this phosphorescent glow to the Neo-Confucian Liu Kai.

32. The term "pure, refreshing pond" (*chingliang zhi*) occurs throughout Chinese Buddhist literature as a metaphor for enlightened purity. See, for example, the Dunhuang text the *Dacheng rudao zidi kaijue* (T 85.1280b12–16), where the four kinds of unhindered speech and various mystical invocations, because they are able to quench the thirst of sentient beings, are likened to attaining purity by entering a pond and bathing. A similar usage is found in the *Fahua xuanyi*, fascicle 3A: "With the eye of wisdom and feet which practice, one arrives at the pure, refreshing pond" (T 33–1716.715b18).

33. Following the Ming edition, reading *yu* for *ou*.

34. *Xinjing* (mind-mirror) may be read here and below as a synonym for *zongjing* (source-mirror), a reference to the title of the work. Hence, the discussion here pertains directly to the work's aim and contents.

35. The notion of a "single flavor" is a metaphor for the Buddhist teaching postulating that everything is ultimately identical, just as whatever enters the ocean acquires the same flavor. In Chan, it indicates the supreme vehicle, the unified teaching of the Buddhas and patriarchs (see *zengaku daijiten* 35c–d).

36. Although I can find no link for a "crane's grove" to Śākyamuni, the context seems to suggest that he is intended. The supposition is, nonetheless, tentative.

37. The "precious ruler" (*baowang*) refers to the Treasure King, or Buddha; the "primordial ancestor" (*yuanxu*) refers to the first or founding patriarch of a school or lineage of Buddhism, in this case Bodhidharma and Chan.

38. Regarding the phrase "the vast sea of all encompassing existence that universal mind manifests" (*yixin zhi haiyin*)—the term *haiyin* is an abbreviation of *haiyin sanmei*, referring to the samādhi experience of the Buddha when he preached the *Huayan jing* and revealed that all things (past, present, and future) are manifestations of the mind. In Huayan thought, all things, as manifested reflections, are inherently tranquil (see the *Huayan jing*, T 9.434c).

39. According to Faxiang (or Weishi) teaching, sentient beings possess eight distinct consciousnesses. The first five correspond to the perceptions of the five senses. The sixth refers to the conscious mind; the seventh (*manas-vijñāna*) and eighth (*ālaya-vijñāna*) to the subconscious mind. The first seven are thought of as products of the eighth and collectively called "transformed consciousnesses." The eighth is the "seed" or "store-consciousness." The light being shone on darkness by the torch of wisdom presumably refers to exposing the false clinging of the seventh consciousness, which mistakes the eighth consciousness for a permanent self.

40. The six perfections are: charity, morality, perseverance, assiduity, meditation, and wisdom.

41. This is a reference to the heavenly maiden in the *Lotus sūtra*, who attained enlightenment (the pearl?) after being transformed into a man (T 9.35c).

42. This is a reference to the incident in the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*) involving the arhats who left the assembly in protest at the announcement of the Buddha's intent to preach a new doctrine, the one supreme vehicle teaching of the *Fahua jing*.

43. The principle of causal interdependence likened to the twelve links of a chain: ignorance, impulse, consciousness, name and form, six senses, contact, sensation, craving, grasping, becoming, birth, and old age and death. As with the case of Zongmi (Gregory, *Inquiry into the Origins of Humanity*, 15), Yanshou associates the twelve links of causal arising with the teaching of the Lesser Vehicle. It is especially associated with pratyeka-Buddhas, who are believed to attain enlightenment through their own efforts, without the aid of a teacher, by meditating on the principle of causality.

44. Śrāvakas are literally "voice-hearers" who attained enlightenment by listening to the Buddha's teaching (i.e., the Four Noble Truths, the emptiness of self-nature) and following it.

45. Reading *zhengyuan* as an abbreviation of *zheng yinyuan* (see N, 697b).

46. "Nature and appearance" (*xingxiang*) refer, respectively, to noumenal essence or true nature (i.e., Buddha-nature), and phenomenal forms (i.e., dharmas).

47. The term *yuantong* (perfect understanding) is an abbreviation for *zhouyuan rongtong* (N, 113d). It indicates the awakened state of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, where the true nature of things extends throughout all phenomena.

48. The water-waves metaphor is commonly used in Buddhism to demonstrate how different phenomena are nondual and yet are distinct. It is used to illustrate that phenomena are neither the same as nor different from each other. In Chinese Buddhist scholasticism, the metaphor was frequently employed in the Huayan school, though not exclusively.

49. The allusion refers to the fact that there is no need to seek one's true nature once it has been discovered. It would appear to refer to some Buddhist episode, perhaps from scripture, although I have been unable to locate a reference. It is also used in another of Yanshou's works, the *Xinpu zhu;* see XZJ 63–1231.124a6. Yanshou likely picked the reference up from the Huayan master Chengguan, one of Yanshou's favorite sources in the ZJL, who speaks of the "spring pond of nirvāṇa"; see the *Huayan shu* 52 (T 35.898b15), *Huayan yanyi chao* 42 and 82 (T 36.324b27 and 642a5).

50. According to the Baozang *lun*, "The ancient mirror [*gujing*] reveals everything in minute detail; the minute details appear in it of themselves. The ancient teaching [*gujiao*] reveals the mind; the mind illuminates it [i.e., the ancient teaching] of itself" (T 45–1857.144b26–27); also cited by Yanshou in ZJL 5 (T 48.439c27–28). References to the "ancient mirror" occur frequently in Chan works like the CDL and GDL, where it is used as an analogy for one's originally endowed wisdom, or original nature. In this context, it means that when one discovers one's true nature, one will no longer succumb to phenomenal delusions (i.e., deranged notions [*kuangxin*]).

51. The term *baozang* (treasure storehouse) here refers to one's Buddha-nature. Below (417a and 419b), Yanshou uses it in reference to Buddhist teaching, particularly as recorded in the canon of Buddhist scriptures.

52. Transliterated from the Sanskrit, the term *āranya* refers to an appropriately quiet place for Buddhist practice, hence a temple or monastery.

53. A "worthy" (*xian*) refers to a person of virtue, a true Buddhist practitioner.

54. Although this appears as a line quoted from some authoritative source, with Yanshou's commentary supplied, I have been unable to trace it.

55. The four eloquences: unobstructed teaching, unobstructed understanding of the meaning, unimpeded understanding of the local language, unobstructed preaching for the benefit of sentient beings (see N, 532d–533a).

56. The "five vehicles" refer to the teachings aimed at common people, celestial beings, śrāvakas, pratyeka-Buddhas, and bodhisattvas.

57. *Hua* is read here as an abbreviation of *bianhua* (N, 290a–4), referring to activities instigated by bodhisattvas to rescue sentient beings.

58. Literally, "great transformation" (*dahua*), the work of a Buddha in teaching and converting (i.e., rescuing) others.

59. Literally, "the three sizes of plants and the two sizes of trees," from the medicinal herbs chapter of the *Lotus sūtra*. This analogy suggests that just as different types of plants and trees are nourished by rain, regardless of their size, so are different types of sentient beings nourished by Buddhist teaching, regardless of their capacity to understand it (N, 480d).

60. The "independent (or separate) practice" (*biexiu*) referred to here may be correlated with the "separate practice (or transmission) apart from the teaching" (*jiaowai biexiu* or *jiaowai biechuan*) promoted by other Chan factions, particularly the Linji lineage, around this time. Regarding this, see Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile."

61. Analogies appearing in *Mencius* 1.7 (see Lau trans., 16–17).

62. The "jeweled city" (*baocheng*) refers to a parable in the *Lotus sūtra,* where travelers, exhausted by their journey, arrive at a jeweled city to relax and recuperate. In fact, the jeweled city is merely an apparition, an expedient devised by the Buddha to assist practitioners on their journey to enlightenment.

63. I have read this as a veiled reference to the prodigal son parable in the *Lotus sūtra* (see Watson trans., 80–96). In this parable, the wealthy householder (i.e., the Buddha), gradually encourages his long-lost son (i.e., sentient beings), who does not recognize him and who has fallen into humble circumstances. Through working at menial tasks on his father's estate, the son eventually gains confidence in himself to the point where the father reveals to the son his true nature and bequeaths him his inheritance.

64. The term *tihu* (true flavor) refers to refined milk (i.e., pure butter), believed to be the purest flavor. In Buddhism, it is analogy for the supreme taste provided by Buddhist teaching, and is thus likened to the Buddha-nature, the supreme teaching, or nirvāṇa.

65. The "golden world" (*jinse zhi jie*) is an appellation for the Pure Land of Mañjuśrī (N, 422c).

66. The flower referred to, *tanbo*, originates in India and is said to give off a purifying aroma. In some explanations, it is likened to a gardenia. In Buddhism, the

smell of a grove of *tanbo*, which overpowers all other odors, is likened to the effect of the virtues produced by all the Buddhas; see, for example, the *Tiantai sijiao yi* (T 46–1931.778c23–24), citing the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*).

67. The first section, "stipulating *zong*" (*biaozong* 標 宗), begins with fascicle 1, following Yanshou's preface which concludes with the statement on his aim and method cited above (T 48.417b). Section two, "Questions and Answers" (*wenda* 問 答), begins a fewpages later in fascicle 1, just before the first question is put forth (T 48.419c).

Section three, "Citation-Verification" (*yinzheng* 引 證), begins at the opening of fascicle 94 (T 48.924a), where the claim is made that the "question and answer" section has been concluded.

68. The Yuan, Ming, and Qing editions read *gong* ("together") for *qi* ("they") in the Song edition.

69. The finger and moon analogy is employed commonly in Buddhism to indicate the utility of Buddhist teachings and doctrines (i.e., the finger) in revealing the fundamental truth of Buddhism (i.e., the moon).

70. The hare and the snare analogy has the same inference as the finger and moon one. It is drawn from the "External Things" (*waiwu*) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

71. The "way of things as ordained by Heaven" (*tianzhen zhi dao*) indicates the way things are according to their heavenly endowed nature. An idea prominent in the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, it contrasts artificial, conscious behavior of ordinary people with the natural, unconscious action of the sage.

72. Beginning in fascicle 1 (T 48.419c).

73. Beginning with fascicle 94 (T 48.924a14).

74. Source unknown. Terms like *xiande* ("former virtuous one" or "earlier master") and *gude* ("old virtuous one" or "old master") appear frequently in the writings of Yanshou and other Chan records from the period. The terms are used as general appellations to former teachers and patriarchs. Since the identities of the masters in question are not known and what is attributed to them may amount to little more than hearsay, it is frequently difficult to trace the quotes accredited to them.

75. T 16.502a–b. This appears to be a paraphrase from Gunabhādra's four-fascicle translation of the *Lengqie jing* (T 16–670), but the actual source for Yanshou is Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Huayan shu* (T 35.521c22), where the same lines are attributed to the *Lengqie jing* verbatim. Yanshou also relies on Chengguan's comments in his response (see below).

76. These two sentences the answer begins with appear in Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Huayan jing shu* (T 35.521c23), following Chengguan's citation of the *Lengqie jing* lines quoted in the question above. This is undoubtedly the source for Yanshou's text here. According to Chengguan, "All the scriptures each have their own *zong*. . . . Thus, when the *Lengqie jing* says: "All phenomena are unborn, one should not establish this as the implicit truth," these words are for dispelling attachments. If it refers to "the implicit truth which denies implicit truth" [*wuzong zhi zong*], the implicit truth [itself] and explanations [of it] both elucidate [this principle]. Generally, [the *zong* of individual scriptures] are distinguished in two ways. In the first

place, it is described in terms of its unique explanation. Second, it is explained in terms of its contemporary significance."

77. The *Da zhidu lun* (T 25.654b24–27).

78. On the use of the term *yanjiao* as referring to the oral teachings of Chan masters, see Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," pp. 234–235; for an extensive treatment, see Welter, *"Linji lu" and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*.

79. The lines cited here are frequently attributed to the *Lengqie jing*. The same lines are cited in the *Mazu yulu* (XZJ 69–1321.2b21–22; Iriya Yoshitaka trans., *Baso goroku*, p. 17), and attributed to Mazu in CDL 6 (T 51–2076.246a9). According to Iriya Yoshitaka (p. 18n.), there are no direct corresponding statements in the *Lengqie jing*, but he suggests that it could be a paraphrase from any number of places in the text (citing an example from fascicle 5 of the ten-fascicle translation as an example; T 16.541c2–8). It is also probable that the attribution is based on the title of fascicle 4, "The Mind Which All the Buddhas Spoke of" (*yiqiefo yuxin*), in the four-fascicle translation of the *Lengqie jing* by Gunabhādra. The phrase also appears, verbatim, in the *Lengqie xinyin* 楞伽心印 (*The Mind Seal of Lankavatāra*; X 37–674[3].752b16), written by He Zhu 河渚 and Lang Tingting 俍亭挺; and at the outset of Wumen Huikai's 無門慧開 preface to the *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Gateless Barrier; T 48.292b12). On the difference between the *Lengqie jing's* understanding of mind and the understanding for Chan, see ZJL, Guiming trans., 28–29.

80. This is an attribution made of Bodhidharma by Zongmi in the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* (T 48–2015.400b19–20; in Kamata, trans., *Zengen shosen shū tojo*, p. 44). The attribution is also found in the dialogue records of Xuefeng Yicun, the *Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* (also known as the *Zhenjue Chanshi yulu*) (XZJ 69–1333.72b7–8). In the *shaoxing*-era (1131–1162) text, the *Damo dashi xuemai lun* 達磨大師血脈論 (Treatise on the Blood and Marrow of Great Master Bodhidharma), it is claimed that prior Buddhas and later Buddhas "transmit mind on the basis of mind, and do not rely on words and letters" (X 63–1218.2a24). Later, in the *Chanmen baozong lu* 禪門寶藏錄 (Record from Chan's Treasure Storehouse), compiled by Tianzheng(?) 天[正*頁] in 1393 (thirtieth year of *zhiyuan*), the phrase is attributed to Vairocāna Buddha, uttered just after attaining enlightenment under the bodhi tree (X 64–1276.807b12).

81. Cited from the *Huanyuan guan* (T 45.637b9–16). Dushun (558–640) is regarded as the first patriarch of the Huayan school. Regarding Dushun, see Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, pp. 5–10, and Chang, *Buddhist Teaching of Totality*, pp. 231–234.

82. The illusions (*fannao*; Skt. *kleśa*) refer to mental disturbances, divided into basic and derivative types according to the School of Consciousness-Only (*Weishi*; *Vijñānavāda*). The basic types are those caused by covetousness, anger, ignorance, arrogance, doubt, and false views. There is no definitive list of derivative types of illusions in the Consciousness-Only School, but nineteen are enumerated in the Abhidharma: idleness, indolence, unbelief, low-spiritedness, restlessness, shamelessness, nonbashfulness, anger, concealment, parsimony, envy, affliction, injury, enmity, deceit, fraudulence, arrogance, drowsiness, and remorse.

83. *Shengyin* and *liaoyin* refer to two of the functions of the eighth (storehouse) consciousness in the School of Consciousness-Only. *Shengyin* refers to the various "seeds" stored in the eighth consciousness, the residue of karmic activity, which produce the world of illusory phenomenal activity around us (likened to the way the seeds of plants sprout into vegetation). *Liaoyin* refers to wisdom revealing truth, likened to a light shone brightly on phenomenal activity, exposing clearly its true nature.

84. From the *Fodi lun* 3 (T 26.302a3, 5–11), translated by Xuanzang.

85. The "sea of fruits" (*guohai*) is a metaphor for the vastness of the virtue associated with Buddhahood.

86. A line from the *Huayan jing* (T 10.89a2–3), also cited regularly in Chengguan's commentaries to the *Huayan jing* (T 35–1738 and 36–1736); see CBETA for references).

87. From Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*, the *Huayan yanyi chao* 73 (T 36579c28–580a11).

88. "The stage of understanding the inherent equality of all phenomena and the stage of wondrous enlightenment" refer to the last two of the fifty-two bodhisattva stages, comprising in progressive order: the ten stages of faith, the ten stages of security, the ten stages of practice, the ten stages of devotion, the ten stages of development, and the last two stages mentioned here. For details on each of these sets of ten stages, see, for example, separate entries in *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*, or other general sources.

89. This is a general reference to Lankavatāra teaching, not traceable to any particular place.

90. The logic being that if X causes Y, and Y causes Z, then X is the cause of the cause (Y) of Z. The same holds true for effects.

91. From the commentary on the *Niepan jing* (*Nirvāṇa sūtra*) by Tiantai master Guanding, the *Daban niepan jing xuanyi* (T 38.10a12–15).

92. A reference to "availing oneself of the eyes of a snake" is found in fascicle 7 of a version of the *Shoulengyan jing*, or *Śūrangama sūtra* (*Da foding rulai mi yinxiu zhengliao zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing*, or simply *Shoulengyan jing*; T 19–945.138c28), but there appears to be no connection to the passage cited here. There is also the famous Chinese story about a contest to draw a snake, where one of the contestants, in a show of bravado, superfluously added feet. This became the source of the proverb and idiomatic expression *huashe tianzu* 畫蛇添足 [drawing a snake and adding feet to it], indicating doing something that ruins the effect of one's effort. This also seems to have little bearing on Yanshou's comments here.

93. For the *Da niepan jing*, see T 7–374 and 375.

94. Yaoshan Weiyan (750–834) was the heir of Nanyue Shitou (a.k.a. Shitou Xiqian). His record is contained in ZTJ 4 (Yanagida, ed., 1708c–1705b; ZBK ed. 165.4–181.14), and in CDL 14 (T 51–2076.311b16–312c2). Both sources record the same episode recounted by Yanshou here, with minor variation. These sources also contain a conversation with Yanshan on a similar topic (recorded in the CDL record of Baiyan Mingzhe, a disciple of Mazu Daoyi [CDL 7; T 51–2076.252c24–29], and in

ZTJ 4), but with a different message. The CDL version reads as follows (translation is tentative in places):

> Chan master Baiyan Mingzhe of Dingzhou (Hebei) saw Reverend Yaoshan reading a scripture. Accordingly, he commented to Yaoshan: "Reverend, aren't you making fools of us?"
>
> Yaoshan put aside the scripture and replied, "Is it early or late?"
>
> Master [Baiyan] said: "It is just noon" (i.e., you have lots of time left for real activity).
>
> Yaoshan said: "I am just exercising my literary talent."
>
> Master [Baiyun]: "I never do so."
>
> Yaoshan: "Older brother [Baiyun] is more intelligent [than I]."
>
> Master [Baiyun]: "I only do as I do. Why do you, Reverend, do as you do?"
>
> Yaoshan: "I feebly totter along, full of disgrace and utterly inept. This is how I pass the time."

95. The term *heshang* is used either in a title, for example, Yaoshan Heshang (Reverend Yaoshan) or, as is the case here, a general term of reference for a monk.

96. This is a list of elite Chinese Chan masters according to Yanshou. Mazu Daoyi (709–788), the founder of the Hongzhou Chan faction, is regarded as the progenitor (a.k.a. Patriarch Ma) of the classic Chan style and had a profound influence over later Chan developments. National Preceptor Huizhong (?–775) was a disciple of Huineng but a critic of the so-called Southern School Chan style that scorned scripture reading. He was awarded the title "National Preceptor" (*guoshi*) by Emperor Taizong. Ehu Dayi (745–818) was a disciple of Mazu. He delivered sermons in the imperial palace at the invitation of Emperor Xiaowen, and also preached for the emperors Dezong and Xunzong. Sikong Benjing (667–761) was also a disciple of Huineng and also preached in the imperial palace, dwelling at the Bailian (White Lotus) Temple at the invitation of Emperor Xuanzong.

97. From Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuchuan jitu* (T 48–2015.400b10–16; in Kamata Shigeo, trans., *Zengen shosen shū tojo*, p. 44).

98. As stated in Chapter Three, n. 41, these represent Indian patriarchs 1–5 according to Shenhui, the *Lidai fabao ji*, and the *Platform Sūtra* (*Tanjing*), and 1–4 according to the *Baolin zhuan*. The *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* contains a line here that is omitted in the ZJL text: "Owing to disputes in the monastic community after Dhirtaka (the patriarch following Upagupta), the monastic rules and the teachings were practiced separately. Owing to criticisms of the monarch after Buddhism reached Kashmir, the scriptures and the treatises were transmitted independently" (Kamata ed., p. 44). Dhirtaka is said to be responsible for establishing the monastic rules and sūtra teachings as independent sections of the tripitaka. When the king of Kashmir is said to have decapitated Simha bhikshu (Indian patriarch number 24), milk flowed forth instead of blood. This story is recorded in the biography of Xuanzang (in fascicle 6 of the *Fu Fazang yinyuan zhuan*; T 50–2058).

99. What Yanshou is asserting here is that he will demonstrate that the teaching of the Buddha recorded in scriptures coincides with the message transmitted by Chan patriarchs.

100. Similar statements are recorded in the *Mazu yulu* (XZJ 69-1321.2b18-22; Iriya Yoshitaka, trans., *Baso goroku*: 17), and Mazu's record in CDL 6 (T 51-2076.246a5-9).

101. This line appears in both a gatha in the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Scriptures of the Great Treasure Storehouse; T 11-310.673a7), and in Fazang's commentary to the *Awakening of Faith*, the *Dacheng qixinlun lunyi ji* 大乘起信論義記 (T 44-1846.247a27–28), where it is attributed to the Shengman jing 勝鬘經. (T 12–353)

102. The reference to "the gateway to esoteric techniques" (*zongchi men; a Chinese translation for dhâranî*) corresponds to "what is known internally." "Practices which bestow blessings" (*shimen*) refer especially to the practice of almsgiving, corresponding here to "what is seen externally."

103. Pan Guiming, the translator of selected sections of the *Zongjing lu* into modern Chinese (*Zongjing lu*, Foguangshan, 1996, p. 36 & 39), punctuates the text so as to make the last two characters of this sentence, *jiayong* (literally, "house use," or "used 'in-house'") the title for the scripture that follows, i.e., the *Jiayong jing*. As there is no scripture bearing such a title, I have refrained from following this suggestion, and have taken the cited scripture as taceable to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (see below).

104. An abbreviated citation from the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a21–22).

105. The thirty-two distinctive marks and eighty distinctive bodily traits are auspicious signs accompanying the physical attributes of a Buddha, distinguishing him from ordinary human beings. A common list of the thirty-two distinctive marks are: flat soles; dharma-wheel insignia on the soles of the feet; slender fingers; tender limbs; webbed fingers and toes; round heels; long legs; slender legs like those of a deer; arms extending past the knees; a concealed penis; arm-span equal to the height of the body; light radiating from the pores; curly body hair; golden body; light radiating from the body ten feet in each direction; tender shins; legs; palms; shoulders; and neck of the same proportion; swollen armpits; a dignified body like a lion; an erect body; full shoulders; forty teeth; firm, white teeth; four white canine teeth; full cheeks like those of a lion; flavoured saliva; a long, slender tongue; a beautiful voice; blue eyes; eyes resembling those of a bull; a bump between the eyes; and a bump on top of the head. These are listed in *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a); the list here is drawn from *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 255a (see also N: 472d–473d).

The eighty distinctive bodily traits represent similarly construed, finer details of a Buddha's physical appearance. They are discussed in fascicle 2 of the *Dîrghāgama sūtra* (Pali: *Dîgha nikāya*; Chn: *Zhang ahan jing* [T1.12b]; see N: 1103c-d, *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 95b–96a).

106. The reference to the blazing house is undoubtedly to the parable contained in the *Lotus sūtra*; given the context, the reference to meritorious deeds is likely to the *Lotus* as well.

107. The term *ruxiang* is common in Chinese Buddhism. It appears, for instance, in the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakîrti stra*; T 14.547b22).

108. This phrase is found in Kumarajiva's translation of the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* (*Weimo jing*; T 14.540b24), and appears in various Chinese Buddhist commentaries: Sengzhao's *Zhu Weimojie jing* (T 38.350a25); Zhiyi's *Weimo jing lueshu*, summarized by Zhanran (T 38.619c17 & 668c15); Zhiyi's *Jinguangming jing wenju*, recorded by

Guanding (T 39.51a6); Guanding's *Guanxin lun* (T 46.588b27 & 599b18); and *Jizang's Jingming xuanlun* (T 38.847a22) and *Weimo jing yishu* (T 38.940c1).

109. A line from a verse in the *Lengjia jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16.480a28, 480b1 & b3). What follows in the sūtra is, in each case, the verse: ". . . and yet one gives rise to a mind of great compassion." The line also appears in Jizang's (T 35.386b22) and Chengguan's (eg., T 35.855a19) commentaries on the *Huayan jing*; and *Zongmi's Da fangguang yuanjue xiu duoluo liaoyi jing lueshu* (T 39.541b4).

110. Lines from a verse in the *Lengjia jing* (T 16.500b17). "Contents of the mind" (*xinliang*) is another name for "mind-only" (*weixin*) (N: 770a).

111. An allusion to passages regarding the nameless (*wuming*) in the *Daode jing*.

112. Although there is no attribution to Mazu by Yanshou in the ZJL text, these lines clearly correspond to the *Mazu yulu* (X 69 2b22ff.; Iriya, trans., *Baso goroku*: 19–21) and other sources that record Mazu's teachings, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (T 51.246a9ff.), and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* (X 78.448c11ff.).

113. This is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25-26). "There is nothing to seek" is one of the four practices attributed to Bodhidharma in the "Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice" (*Erru sixing lun*). In the *Mazu yulu* and GDL this passage is not attributed to a scripture but to Mazu himself. The CDL concurs with the ZJL in attributing the statement to a scriptural source.

114. The *Mazu yulu* has *shewu* ("reject evil") for *zuowu* ("create evil").

115. This phrase, "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth," is found in the Chan apocryphal text, the *Faju jing* (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (T 36.60c28–29 & 586b6–7). Elsewhere in the commentary (T 36.301b16–17), Chengguan attributes the phrase to a *Prajňāparāmita* source.

116. This where the *Mazu yulu* ends, and while the attribution of what follows is unclear, I have attributed the lines to Mazu as best fitting the context of the ZJL.

117. Source unknown. The phrase is reminiscent of Māhayāna teaching, but I can find no precise scriptural counterpart.

118. The translation provided here is tentative in places. An abbreviated version of this passage is recorded in the CDL (see CDL 5 [T 51.244b8–10]). The abbreviated passage reads: "Students of the Chan school must abide by the words of the Buddha, the perfect meaning of the one-vehicle, to be in tacit agreement with the original principle of one's mind. Those who do not understand it will not receive the sanction of their master. They will be like insects on the body of a lion." Atext of Nanyang Huizhong's teaching, non extant, is mentioned in the catalogue of Enchin (814–891), the *Enchin mokuroku* (T 55.1101a27), under the title *Nanyang [Hui]zhong heshang yanjiao* (The Oral Teachings of Reverend Nanyang Huizhong).

119. The last sentence in this paragraph is not included in the CDL record of Nanyang Huizhong's teachings.

120. This exchange between Huizhong and the student is recorded in CDL 28 (T 51.438a9–17).

121. The *Da niepan jing* (*Mahā parinirvāṇa sūtra*; T 12.581a22–23).

122. The *Da niepan jing* (T 12.533a16–17).

123. The CDL text has *dan* ("only") for zi.

124. Instead of "If inanimate objects have no mind, . . . ," the CDL text has "If inanimate objects have no Buddha-nature, . . ."

125. See *Huayan jing* 19 (T 10.102b).

126. See, for example, the *Huayan jing* 54 (T 10.288a).

127. On Chan master Dayi, see ZTJ 15 (Yanagida ed.: 1642:74.10–76.9; ZBK ed. 554.10–556.9); CDL 7 (T 51.253a1–23). According to the CDL, Dayi was summoned by Emperor Xianzong (r. 806–820). The ZTJ, however, claims Dayi was summoned to the court of the previous emperor, Dezong (identified in the ZTJ as Emperor Xiaowen) (r. 780–805).

128. *Weimo jing* 6 (T 14.546a23).

129. The basic Buddhist meaning of the term *fenbie* is the discriminating process through which the mind discerns objects. By implication, it includes the process of explaining, interpreting, and analyzing phenomena.

130. *Weimo jing* 1 (T 14.537c13).

131. Other versions of this conversation are recorded in the ZTJ (Yanagida ed. 1642b: 75.5–9) and CDL (Zhongwen ed.: 122.4–6). It is interesting to note that no reference to the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* occurs in either of these versions. Both ZTJ and CDL continue the theme with a dialogue concerning whether the four dhyānas and eight samādhis are the Way (see Yanagida ed.: 1642b: 75.9–15 & Zhongwen ed.: 122.6).

132. According to CDL, the emperor in question here is Xunzong (r. 805). See chapter 5, note 167.

133. As in the case of Mazu Daoyi, cited above.

134. As in the cases of national teacher Nanyang Huizhong and Chan master Dayi of Goose Lake, cited above.

135. On Chan master Benjing, a direct heir of the sixth patriarch, Huineng, see CDL 5 (T 51.242b19–243c13); ZTJ 3 (Yanagida ed.: 1714c–1713c); and SGSZ 8 (T 50.758c12–25, attached to the biography of Zhiwei). There is no mention in any of these sources of the material recorded here in the ZJL.

136. The *Yuanjue jing* (T 17.913b24–25).

137. T 16.505b2–3.

138. T 14.546a23.

139. Little is known about Zhuangyan. The CDL lists a "Chan master Yuan of Zhuangyan" (*Zhuangyan Yuan Chanshi*) among the disciples of the Niutou lineage master Nanyang Huizhong (T 51.224a11), but no record is provided. An abbreviated version of the passages cited in the ZJL also appears in the *Fanyi mingyi ji* (T 54.1141a19–24), compiled in the Song dynasty by the monk Fayun (1088–1159), known as Great Master Furun of Jingde Monastery on Mt. Gusu (Jiangsu); his biography is included in the front matter to the *Fanyi mingyi ji* (T 54.1055b13–1056a14). The preface to the *Fanyi mingyi ji* by the lay Buddhist Zhou Dunyi of Jingqi was written in the *shaoxing* era (1131–1162) (see T. 54.1055b3–4). Zhuangyan's reputation for recommending to students these lines from the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*) is also mentioned in a sermon delivered by the Qing dynasty Chan master Zongbao Daodu (1599–1661; also known as Zhangqing Kongyin), recorded in the latter's Dialogue Records, the *Zongbao Du Chanshi yulu* (X 72.745a14–17). The source for information about

Zhuangyan (other than the mention in CDL) would appear to be the ZJL, making the ZJL the only available source of information regarding Zhuangyan's teachings.

140. T 14.538a13–14. *Vimalakirti Sūtra*, Watson trans., p. 25 (with minor changes).

141. Technically, of course, the words are uttered by the elder Baoji, not the Buddha, but as they derive from a scriptural source, they are authorized as Buddha's teaching.

142. The term *mufei sheng* literally refers to a tool used for straightening wood. In this context, it implies the methods and teachings used by Buddhist teachers for ensuring correct behavior among practitioners.

143. According to *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (N,646a), the term *zongshi* refers to eminent monks who combine learning and virtue to guide others, serving as models for practitioners. It is a term used especially in Chan, referring to patriarchal masters regardless of affiliation. Given the title of the ZJL, one should note that the "true" masters here are actually "*zong* masters," or "masters of *zong*." The term *wuwai* (literally "outside of/external to things") is found in other Chan works like the *Lengqie shizi ji* (T 85.1290b6) and the CDL (T 51.258b24–25) but is also familiar from usage in such works as the *Zhao lun* by Sengzhao (see T 45.150b10). It is used in association with a transcendental realm where spiritual beings roam.

144. Referring to Chan masters as unicorns and dragons (i.e., mythological beings with extraordinary powers) coincides with the previous sentence's reference to them as "teachers . . . who transcend the limitations of physical objects." Tortoise shells were used for divining good and bad fortune; mirrors for determining beauty and ugliness. Together they imply a standard or framework used to assess matters correctly. Here, they refer to the methods employed by Chan masters to convey the universal teaching.

145. T 10.89a2–3; the first line was also cited by Yanshou in the response to question 2, above. As noted there, the lines also appear in Chengguan's commentaries to the *Huayan jing*.

146. The analogy of a horse seeing the shadow of a whip appears commonly in Chinese Buddhist commentarial literature. It appears initially in Nagārjuna's *Da zhidu lun* (T 25.62a6 and 252a12). It is cited frequently in the works of Zhiyi, e.g. the *Mohe zhiguan* and his commentary on the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*; *T* 46–1911 and T 33–1716; see CBETA for references). It also appears regularly in the *yulu* of various Song Chan masters (see CBETA for references).

147. Danxia Tianran (739–824) studied under both Mazu Daoyi and Shitou Xiqian, though he is considered an heir of the latter. His record is contained in ZTJ 4 (Yanagida ed.: 1709a–1708c [157.6–167.8]; CDL 14 (T 51.310b20–311a27), and SGSZ 11 (T 50.773b17–c6). The lines cited here in the ZJL do not appear in any of these records. We know, however, that this saying was attributed to Danxia by others (see CDL 18; T 51.a24–26, particularly the interlinear note). Yanshou also attributes the same lines to Danxia in another of his works, the *Xinpu zhu* (X 63.82a11–12). The lines appear most often, however, in questions to Chan masters in *gong'an*-like encounters. Without knowing the context, the translation is uncertain.

148. T 19.123c5.

149. This is a sentiment alluded to in the *Lengqie jing* (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16.493a28–b1). It appears throughout Chan literature as a description of the speed

with which the transformation of sudden awakening occurs (see, for example, the *Chuanxin fayao*, Iriya trans., *Denshin hōyō, enryō roku*, pp. 135).

150. The source of this poem is unknown. It is also cited by Yanshou in the *Xinpu zhu* (X 63.82a13–14).

151. Areference to the four ways of viewing things in the Huayan school: (1) that all things are different from each other; (2) that all things are nothing but consciousness; (3) that all things are the truth itself; and (4) that all is one and one is all (for other possibilities, see N, 533c).

152. See the *Huang guangming ji* 4 (T 52.194c25–29); also cited by Yanshou in the *Xinpu zhu* (X 63.89a20–24).

153. The ancient five-stringed Chinese lute and an ancient Chinese version of a large Japanese *koto*, a large horizontal instrument with twenty-five strings (fifteen, nineteen, twenty-seven, or fifty in some versions).

154. The first part of this quotation ("What is appropriate for an individual person applies equally for everyone else") is found in a verse in the third fascicle of the *Lotus sūtra; T* 9.20a15–16). While the second part is not found there, I have retained it as material intended by Yanshou as part of the quotation.

155. The six ways of viewing things in terms of: the whole, the parts making up the whole, unity, the variety making the unity, entirety, the fractions making the entirety; based on the *Huayan jing* (T 34.181c).

156. The ten characteristics of the world in which phenomena are interdependent according to Huayan teaching, based on the doctrine of the "nonobstruction of phenomena and phenomena" (*shishi wuai*). Regarding these, see the *Huayan yicheng shixuan men*, based on the lectures of Dushun (T 45–1868). The ten characteristics (following *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 145b–146a) are (1) all things produce one another at the same time; (2) great ones and lesser ones influence each other;(3) one and many influence each other without losing their own uniqueness; (4) all things are interdependent so that one is all and all is one; (5) explicitness and implicitness coexist; (6) all things influence one another, keeping good order; (7) all things influence one another as the jewels of the net of Śakra's palace reflect one another endlessly; (8) anything can be used as an example for explaining the truth of the interdependence of all things; (9) the past, present, and future influence one another without confusion; and (10) anything can be regarded as the center of the others (for other possibilities, see N, 652–b–d).

157. This appears to be a stock phrase in Chan referring to the unrestricted liberation of complete and total awakening.

158. The Yuan edition has *gu* ("therefore," "that is why") for *hu* (usually "foreign," "barbarian," but here indicating a rhetorical question: "how . . . !").

159. The "perfect teaching" (of the greater vehicle) (*yuanzong*) refers to the highest teaching of Buddhism in Mahāyāna, which differs according to the teachings promoted in individual schools.

160. The term *shixin* appears in the *Chixin lun* (T 42.576c). According to Buddhist ideational theory, human beings possess eight types of consciousness, six of which correspond to our six senses (including the mind, *mano* consciousness), and the last two (*manas* and *ālaya* consciousnesses) to different aspects of the subconscious mind.

According to this theory, *manas* depends on *ālaya*, mistakenly regarding it as *ātman* (permanent self). This is the root of illusion. The other seven consciousnesses are produced from seeds stored in the *ālaya* (store-consciousness). The *ālaya* receives the impressions of the seven consciousnesses and is the object of false clinging by the seventh consciousness (*manas*).

161. T 16.497b23–28.

162. Source unknown.

163. According to Buddhist mythology, the Dragon Palace is the place at the bottom of the ocean where the Dragon King dwells. It was created by the Dragon King using spiritual powers of transformation. Stored in it are the scriptures of the Buddhist canon (i.e., the treasure storehouse), kept for the time when the Buddha-Dharma disappears from the world.

164. Vulture Peak (Mt. Grdrakūta) is a mountain located northeast of Rājagrha, the capital of the Indian kingdom of Magadha at the time of the Buddha. So named because its shape resembled a vulture, it is the reputed site where many Mahayana sūtras (i.e., golden texts) were preached.

165. See T-374, fascicle 24 (T 12.505a27–29); or T-375, fascicle 22 (T 12.749a11–13).

166. This is a common position found in Mahayana commentaries, especially in the fourfold negation of the Sanlun School, where recourse to any positive assertion about the phenomenal world is denied. Rather than referring to any specific source, Yanshou here seems to making general reference to well-known Mahayana propositions (but see the following note).

167. The four assertions regarding things are: (1) they exist, (2) they do not exist, (3) they both exist and do not exist, and (4) they neither exist nor do not exist (see the *Da niepan jing*, ch. 3). The hundred negations refer to the complete rejection of any positive assertion regarding the nature of things, as articulated in detail in the *Da niepan jing*, ch. 21. The four assertions are also discussed, for example, in ZJL 74 (T 48.830b8–15) and ZJL 34 (T 48.615c15–18).

168. Source unknown, but possibly taken from a *yulu*-type manuscript circulating at the time.

169. This reference to Mahākāśyapa seeking the dharma on Mt. Cock's Foot appears verbatim in the Ming dynasty text *Fozu gangmu*, fascicle 26 (Outline of the Buddhas and Patriarchs; X 85.593a14). A statement similar to the one at the outset of the quote here, denying the ability to seek truth the scriptures, is contained in the next line of the *Fozu gangmu* (X 85.593a15). Regarding the story of Mahākāśyapa acquiring the robe and its significance in Chan lore, see T. Griffith Foulk, "Sung Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," 226–231. It is not clear whether what follows is being cited by Yanshou from the words of the unnamed former virtuous one or reflects Yanshou's own comments. I have provisionally left it as a citation from the fomer virtuous one.

170. T 48.376c16–17.

171. The episodes referred to here are unclear to me.

172. T 12.442b13–15.

173. According to Mahayana mythology, scriptures stored in the Dragon King's palace provided the basis from which Mahayana teaching grew. Most pointedly, this

is a contention made in the *Huayan jing* (*Avatāmsaka sūtra*), a scripture said to have been concealed within the dragon king's palace for protection. Afterward, Nagârjuna (literally "Dragon-Tree") Bodhisattva went to the dragon's palace, memorized it, and brought it back.

174. Literally, one hundred *laksa* 一百洛叉 (a *laksa, or lak,* is an Indian unit of measure usually regarded as equivalent to one hundred thousand).

175. The term *fanlai* 翻來 (transferred here) can also be rendered as "translated here." The "western regions" refers to India; the "lands of the east" to China.

176. This sentence seems out of place here; the meaning is unclear in this context.

177. See the *Shi ji* 48, biography of Chen She. The analogy here is based on the limited perspective of swallows and sparrows, who reduce the immense and broad perspective on a giant mythological bird, the *Honggu*, to their own superficial understanding. It is reminiscent of the analogy between the gigantic Peng bird and the "little quail" in the chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, "Free and Easy Wandering."

178. The analogy of the limited perspective of a frog inhabiting a well is well known in early China (see, for example, *Zhuangzi*, "Autumn Floods."

179. An analogy appearing in an episode in *Wufen lu* 3 (T 22.18b12–19a).

180. This analogy is used in the *Weimo jing (Vimālakīrti sūtra*; see T 14.547a26).

181. See the *Xianyu jing* (T 4–202).

182. This refers to a Garuda, a mythological bird in ancient Indian legends that dwells at the base of Mt. Sumeru and flies through the sky with a wingspan of 3,360,000 *li* (mentioned in the *Za ahan jing* [*Samyuktāgama*] 7: T 2.44c).

183. The perfect teaching (*yuanzong*) is a reference to the teaching of the Tiantai School.

184. The contrasts drawn here are between descriptions based in the reality of the true nature of things as empty, yet appearing as fleeting, provisional phenomena, and descriptions that mistake these fleeting phenomena as substantial and real (i.e., not empty).

185. Ateaching associated with the *Huayan jing*, see above.

186. The term for "the great unlimited dharma-realm," *daqian* 大千, is an abbreviation for *sanqian daqian shijia*, literally "the three-thousand great thousand dharma realms." It is used to indicate the innumerable worlds that constitute the domain of a Buddha.

187. This appears to be a paraphrase rather than a direct citation, possibly from the *Dapan niepan jing* (T 12–3704; see, for example, 563c15). Where the citation ends is unclear.

188. Cultivating alone by oneself (*gutiao*) is practice associated with the lesser vehicle (N, 347c).

189. The concept expressed here is based on the doctrine of *yimen ji pumen* (*ichimon soku fumon*), which posits that all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are transformations of the dharma-body, Vairocāna (N, 54c).

190. The five flavors (*wumi*) in classical Chinese writings correspond to the five primary "elements" (*wuxing*): earth—sweet; wood—sour; fire—bitter; metal—pungent; and salt—water.

191. The proper reward of karma refers to one's body; the dependent rewards to the world, country, family, etc., one is born into (the external factors that the body is dependent on).

192. An apparent reference to the opening scene of the *Huayan jing* (see T 9.395a).

193. An apparent reference to the opening scene of the *Fahua jing* (*Lotus sūtra*; see T 9.2c).

194. *Foshi* is, literally, the Buddha's work, the activities for saving sentient beings. By implication, it refers to the teachings and transforming techniques of a Buddha (N, 1192c).

195. T 10.205a11–14.

196. See the *She dacheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 (T 31.381b29–c1).

197. The three kinds of existence (*saxing*) are: (1) existence produced through imagination; (2) existence arising through the process of dependent origination; and (3) existence as the highest truth. The three kinds of nonexistence (*san wuxing*) are (4) the nonexistence of forms that are produced from imagination; (5) the nonexistence of that which is produced through the process of dependent origination; and (6) the nonexistence of form in the highest truth. These are featured in the doctrines of the Consciousness-Only School (see *Cheng weixin lun*; T 31.48a). The six aspects of delusion are attachment, anger, pride, ignorance, doubt, and evil views.

198. The phrase *yitaqi* 依他起 ("what arises [through the process of] dependent origination") refers to (2) in the previous note.

199. The previous three sentences refer to the three kinds of existence mentioned above.

200. The *Faxing lun* is a no longer extant text attributed to Huiyuan. It is mentioned in Huiyuan's record in GSZ 6 (T 50.360a19).

201. Areference to views based on the four kinds of attachments in the Sanlun (Madhyāmaka) school, in which all things are regarded as (1) existing; (2) not existing; (3) both existing and not existing; and (4) neither existing nor not existing.

202. The four heterodox ways of viewing things are unspecified, but probably refer to the aforementioned four assertions regarding things: (1) they exist, (2) they do not exist, (3) they both exist and do not exist, and (4) they neither exist nor do not exist.

203. T 10.280c24–25.

204. The four erroneous ways of viewing things equals the four assertions regarding things mentioned above.

205. The term *sibian* 四辯 is an abbreviation of *si wuai bian*, referring to the four kinds of unhindered, eloquent speech: (1) no obstacles in preaching the law; (2) no obstacles in understanding the meaning of the law; (3) no obstacles in communicating in various dialects; and (4) no obstacles in preaching suitable sermons to people.

206. On the doctrine of *baifa mingmen*, see the *Dacheng baifa mingmen lun* (T 31.855b–c), which provides the list of one hundred "dharmas" according to the Consciousness-Only School (N. 1144d). According to *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (N, 1145a), *baifa mingmen* may also be understood according to its usage in the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.345b), as the first stage of a bodhisattva, the gateway of wisdom that penetrates all (literally "one hundred") principles, all truths.

207. Following the Song edition reading of *gong* (merits) for *qie*.

208. The term *qianyi* 牽衣 refers to the garb of a soldier sent to the front.

209. According to a reference to a person of the same name at the beginning of ZJL 98 (T 48.941c.16, n. 2), Master Zhi is identified as the Tiantai master Nanyue Huisi (515–577), the teacher of Zhiyi.

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